

By the same author

Unorthodox Essays

Studies in Prose & Poetry

(General English)

T A S K S F O R T O M O R R O W

[essays on some of the problems of reconstruction
following the revolutionary changes in our times]

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INTRODUCTION

Mankind is passing through a very exhilarating and a very challenging period of history. The middle of twentieth century has witnessed several revolutionary changes and a large number of countries are deeply involved in the formidable task of reconstruction and readjustment.

This book of essays deals with some of the recent changes and the problems related to the task of reconstruction. It is divided into two parts. The part entitled the 'BACK DROP' is intended to give a general understanding of the dynamic nature of our civilization. The second part entitled 'FOCUS ON HIGH SPOTS' deals with certain specific issues such as education, population, communal dynamics, prospects of democracy in Asia, Indian socialist thought and reconstruction of Indian polity.

All these are tasks for tomorrow and upon their appreciation, understanding and final resolution depends the future of millions of people in the world. Moreover, for survival in a dynamic society, it is extremely essential to develop or acquire a mobile sensibility in order to learn, to know, to feel, and to participate purposefully and sensibly in the life round us. We trust that these essays will stimulate the interest of the readers in this subject. These essays will also be useful for the candidates preparing for higher competitive examinations in India because as future administrators it is they who need to acquire this sensibility more than others.

This much from the point of view of the readers. Personally the main benefit derived from writing these essays has been to help me fill my otherwise almost still inner life with some kind of sensation and titillation द्वारा मन पुदकन मे खोजे चेतन which now ends. This vital need however imperfectly served together with a purely egotistical and practical purpose was also the motive which prompted me to write Unorthodox Essays in which some of the basic ideas on such subjects as science sarvodaya India's socialist pattern of society democracy in India have been dealt with. Some of the essays in the present volume are in a sense a further elaboration of some of those aspects of these subjects not dealt with in Unorthodox Essays.

The bibliography given at the end of the book is not at all exhaustive. However I trust that it will entice the reader into exploring further areas of the themes discussed in the essays.

I cannot resist the irrepressible urge to express my deep gratitude to Sheila without whose cooperation and understanding I could not have written these essays in a short time.

14 July 1960

New Delhi

author

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the backdrop

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THE BACKDROP

SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN OUR TIMES

Events move at an incredible pace, and change follows change —Nehru

(1)

Our civilization is undergoing mighty non-violent transformations. The wind of change which had started blowing softly and slowly across the world a few decades ago has in recent times gathered an added impatience and force. Its mighty harmonies can be heard in every part of the globe. It is impatiently knocking, hard and insistently, at every door and window of the citadel of tradition. It appears that the pathetic supplications of the perfectionist Shelley in the 'Ode' are coming true. The new wind of change is scattering, as it were, the seeds of a higher order of social organization.

There is hardly a country which has remained untouched by its pervasive potency. Everywhere there is a big ferment not only in the peasant primitive feudal and static orders of societies which are crumbling before the on-set of new ideas and technologies but also in the already dynamic societies such as USA and USSR which are becoming dangerously dynamic. Brazil and Latin American countries. Western Germany and Belgium and other Scandinavian countries they are all growing rapidly.

All peoples of the earth are showing a heightened sense of self-consciousness⁴ about their destiny. Never in the past common humanity had been so full of faith and confidence in the worthwhile future. Never before had men shown such a high sense of liveliness as they are showing now. Civilization

is changing as it were its gear and axis in an impatient attempt to realize higher levels of organization and growth

(ii)

revolution

What is the nature and scope of these transformations? Evidently it is non-violent (except in a few cases) multi-dimensional global, and rapid. It has effected the political, economic social and most of all the ethical basis of the life of individuals and groups primarily through the instrumentality of revolutionary changes in scientific techniques, which involve an almost complete break in the historical flow.

Another general trend in this process of change is that in some areas, for example in Asia the traditional societies are fast abandoning the values of the culture of restraint and are avidly assimilating the values of the culture of expression. Everywhere the vectors of change are either new goods or new ideas.

The turmoil created by new goods is what some sociologists call 'revolution of rising expectations' or the revolt of desire. Men's minds are aglow with new desires and thrilled with new aspirations to acquire more and more consumable durables such as car refrigerator television and mechanical gadgets which are the indices of status and standard of life. They want more diversified terms of entertainment. They are in need of more knowledge and they hunger for more power. During the last few years the traditional wantlessness of the impoverished has been reduced and more men and women have been brought into the orbit of

desire." The imagery of ambition of millions of people in Middle East and other less developed areas has been or is being altered out of all keeping with traditional societies which seem to be in the grips of a hurricane of desires.

The means of communication and mass media have been instrumental in creating or abetting this renaissance of desire in these areas. The movies, the broadcasting system, and other forms of audio-visual aids create continuous turmoil, and entice people's mind to buy new consumer's goods.

This revolution has far-reaching consequences. "New desires create new wants, new wants create new opinions, new opinions create new political consciousness and new political awakening demands an order of society in which the demand for new goods and services can be fulfilled" And this is what is happening, people in these areas (say Middle East) have become impatient of all those institutions and ideas, customs and traditions, governments and laws, which hinder or suppress this revolt of desire. They will take to anything and everything which will help them—be it dictatorship or democracy or communism or technology.

If in some countries the stimulation of desire provides for the motive energy for far-reaching changes, then in some areas ideology is the motive force behind social ferment. Men's imaginations stand inflamed by the earth-moving force of new secular faiths such as democracy, communism, racial supremacy, etc. But generally a new idealism and the vision of a new social order in which man will be automatically entitled to respect and recognition due to him has captured the minds of millions of people. The individual has acquired a new sense

of valuation. It is under this explosive pressure of ideas also that tremendous changes are taking place all over the world. And it is very interesting to observe that even this motive force of ideas, not to speak of scientific techniques, come from the West. All of them have unquestionably accepted Western political values, be it liberalism which India and others have accepted or totalitarianism which China has accepted.

Nationalism, another corollary of democracy, continues and will continue to be a powerful factor in the life of Asians and Africans. It has caused great changes in its pre-independence phase but even in its successful phase it will continue to condition their thoughts and actions. In this respect the post-war world has seen big changes. In late forties and early fifties the colonial countries in Asia attained statehood. These were years of destiny for Asia. In late fifties African nationalism scored its first victory over imperialism when Ghana emerged as free state. In 1960 about twelve more African colonies will realize their freedom. The Arab nationalism in Middle East has become a menace to western powers who are trying to retain their economic stronghold in the oil-producing areas of this part of the world.

There is a revolutionary shift in the balance of political power in the post-war world in general and in recent years in particular. Consequently the bridges between the past and the present have been burnt. The world of ours is a new world of more and more free nations. The ancient balance of power between nations has been upset as new peoples have joined the family of free nations and as more and more backward races are emerging from the bush in the primeval forests and are heading towards the high-ways leading to metropolitan civilizations.

The acceptance of these political creeds which are alien to the social and cultural values of these areas have created the corresponding need for urgent social and psychological, reconstruction

Again in Asia and other less developed areas social changes were made imperative by the acceptance of western technology and the western political ideals. The direction and the nature of change in these societies is in the ultimate analysis almost identical namely, the prevalence of greater physical, social, and psychic mobility and a trend to move away from the traditional to participant pathways. The salient features of social change everywhere are urbanism literacy media consumption and 'empathic capacity'. The social goals of all these societies in transition are the same namely search for power wealth skill and rationality. In fact the model of change which these societies have evolved is the same as the West evolved for itself for the purpose of modernizing. Everywhere increasing urbanization has tended to raise literacy rising literacy has tended to increase media consumption exposure, increasing media exposure has gone up with wider economic participation (higher per capita income) and political participation (vote)'

U S and Europe are also engaged in solving tremendous problems and making painful and very fundamental adjustments. The revolutionary situation there is different from Asia and Africa in some respects. These societies are faced with problems created by excessive growth. Their problems are, says Nehru, problems arising out of prosperity. For example various kinds of tensions growing incidence of

mental diseases, care of aging groups, war atomization and robotism. There hangs over the heads of these societies fear—some shadow of the nemesis which must inevitably befall those who try to over-reach themselves in any sphere

In short, if Asian and African societies are engaged in creating conditions in which fullest expressions of man's personality is possible, European and American societies are again faced with the problem of preserving the freedom so arduously acquired by dint of age-long struggle from the onslaught of new forces of authoritarianism generated by very effective means of mind-manipulation, means of communication and persuasion. In these societies "impersonal forces of over-organisation and over-population, over which we have no control seem to be pushing us all in the direction of New Brave Worldian Nightmare".

From the point of view of international relations the nature of relationship between the Western nations and Asia and Africa have undergone changes. Asian and African nationalism with the support and pressure of an overwhelming superiority in terms of population is threatening to change the entire 150-year-old balance of power. The West is on the retreat politically everywhere in the unfree world. But in the post-war world this loss of the Western political influence has been counter-balanced by the phenomenal advancement it has made in the technological sphere. Automation, cybernetics, the prospects of space travel, and nuclear energy, all these have given to the West a greater commanding position and a more dominating potentiality than it hitherto enjoyed even while exercising political power. Now the techniques are a trump in the hands of the west to deal with

the boisterous nationalism in Asia and Africa And naturally Asia and Africa will have to watch the trends carefully and deal with the new situation more soberly

(iii)

rhythm of change

Thus it will be seen that everywhere in the contemporary world there is a ferment The very absence of spectacle and drama which normally accompanies violent revolutions should not make us under-rate the historical significance of these changes which, if considered undogmatically, amount to a revolution because *revolution is not simply an agency of change but in a sense it is change which brings about a very sharp deviation, at a very quickend tempo, in the line of growth of a society* Moreover, the nature of revolution is not merely political but revolution can occur in social spheres without the aid of any drastic political effort Revolution in a broad sense simply means that at a particular point of time, the normal historical flow has been interrupted and that a society has embarked upon a distinctly different stage of development The determinants of revolutionary change are, the scale of change, the speed of change, the scope of change and the direction of change

For example, the rapid movement of a generation of stone age hunters in the Admiralty Islands of Manus (situated in the Pacific Ocean) from 'savage boyhood' in 1928 to 'modern maturity' in 1953 is no less a revolution than the bloody violent career of the French Revolution and the Bolshevik Revolution

Like other modes of violent revolution this kind of non-violent and unspectacular revolution is also followed by the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Therefore within the scope of these revolutionary changes is included the efforts of the people of the world to undertake the more formidable work of re-building which has its own peculiar difficulties which stem from the need of very rapid change the natural inability of men and women particularly men and women who having been used to enjoying power obedience and privileges exclusively cannot get over their former attitudes and finally the very non-violent process of change itself hinders the task of reconstruction.

Since the non violent revolutionary changes do not have the advantages associated with the drama and the spectacle of violent changes it is difficult to create in the people constant an unflagging devotion to the cause of revolution, Under these circumstances the leadership of the non-violent revolution has to make special effort to tap the spiritual and the ethical motivations and loyalties of the people for making the revolution permanent and to complete the task of reconstruction.

(iv)

reconstruction

Broadly speaking what is the nature of this reconstruction ? Is it possible to discover abroad a pattern underlying the numerous efforts which human race is making at present ?

Russell says that it is in the nature of :
conflict with something The contests in w

engaged are of three kinds ; man against nature, man against man, and man against himself. In their contest with nature men are engaged in an unequal yet rewarding struggle to tame its malignant and hostile propensities in order to survive as a species. It is a biological problem in a sense.

After having succeeded to some extent in creating a propitious physical environment, men begin to devote more attention to the social environment in order to tame within a disciplined social order the acquisitive and other self-regarding impulses. This is the contest between man and man and it is a problem of social organization.

When this stage is reached the locale or the arena of contest shifts to the landscape of man's mind or spirit. Man faces himself. This is the most difficult of all the three conflicts. Now he makes a bid to harness the diabolical proclivities of his own nature in order to be able to live in a society and attain self-realization. This is a problem of acquiring self-control and self-knowledge. The contest is between man and himself.

Russell's explanation of the process of human development in terms of three kinds of successive encounters may appear to be rather arbitrary. However, it could be used as an aid to analyse or explain the various aspects of social reconstruction going on in various parts of the world. The contemporary scene epitomises all the three aspects of human endeavour.

It is impossible that at a particular point of time, a particular society may be engaged in only one kind of contest to the utter exclusion of the other two. Every dynamic

society to-day is involved in all the three aspects depending upon its level of growth. For example, in some areas, the emphasis on the first kind of contest may receive more attention (because of certain urgencies) than the other two. In some areas the third kind of contest may be receiving greater attention because of the fact that the people in these areas have been successful in the first two contests at a given plane of growth. In short, in every society the three aspects of reconstruction co-exist receiving varying emphasis and enjoying different priorities and interpretations.

Consider for example Asia. There the nature of contest is pre-dominantly between man and nature at a plane which is different from the plane at which our ancestors in the glacial periods might have conducted it. This contest in Asia is primarily a quest for higher standards of living by harnessing the forces of nature.

Asian and African and similar less developed societies are struggling to overcome the problems of poverty and powerlessness. Their problem is in the first instance to create the material conditions for growth, and the problems of social and spiritual contest has been relegated to a secondary position. In fact, the need for social reorganisation is considered as a means to succeed in the contest with nature.

In USA and Europe the contest is between man and himself because there the people have settled their accounts with nature and between themselves. The civilization is involved in a deep spiritual crisis to solve the problems of the advanced stages of prosperity and power. Their problem is to some extent the problem of moral and ethical reconstruction following the revolution at the material plane of life. But

this does not mean that the other two kinds of contests, particularly the contest against nature is non-existent there. It does exist in less, dramatic but in the serious form of the rapidly depleting resources of raw materials. America, like Europe is making frantic efforts to devise more artificial resources of fuel and other irreplaceable strategic raw materials. This is indeed a different kind of contest against nature but it is *nonetheless a contest between man and nature* in a wider sense.

Thus we see that the human race is on the road like the ribald band of Canterbury pilgrims. But there is difference. This is not the spring time of the tales when the sweet showers of April fall and shoot and when the small fowls are making melody. It on the contrary is a time of anxiety. The signals of doom are transmitting messages of catastrophe which is now hovering unseen over head. The mighty task of reconstruction and the promise it holds to myriads of people could only be realized if peace prevails. And now it all depends on our effort and sincerity to wreck or redeem this hope of a better world for our children only if man could save himself from his folly ?

AFRICAN RESURGENCE—THE AWAKENING OF A CONTINENT

Africa requires a hard, fresh and imaginative new look

—Chester Boules

(1)

Africa is in the throes of mighty convulsions. The massacres at Sharpsville and Langa in April 1960 have filled the heart of Africans with dark resentment and menacing indignation. The African eye is losing its light and on account of deep desperation and spiritual anxiety it is acquiring an inky blackness which may be a prelude to a more widespread Mau-Mau like diabolical outbursts of savage and bloody racial conflicts. The pent up fury of primitive impulses may explode catastrophically and splatter boiling masses of ruin and disaster worst than any nuclear war.

This portentous awakening of Africa is one of the most outstanding and the most exhilarating of the several mid-twentieth century revolutionary changes in the world. If late forties and early fifties were years of destiny for Asia then the late fifties and early sixties will go down in the history as years of destiny for Africa as annus mirabilis. In a sense the resurgent Africa today is free world's greatest opportunity and challenge. It is the test case of its beliefs in liberalism and humanism. It is strategically and politically important for our global fight against authoritarianism.

(II)

background

The African problem which no doubt is a complexum of several elements—political economic cultural and racial—is essentially spiritual. The African mind is in deep mental fear of losing its national soul. What is going on there is in a deep primitive sense a war of religion however crude and primordial. The political and racial conflict is only a dramatic manifestation of a spiritual anxiety which cannot be adequately appreciated without some knowledge and understanding of African tradition and environment.

The Africans are born with a sense of old oldness because Africa is old in the longest measure of time on earth. Fleure believes that the regions of the world now covered by the Sahara and Arabian Deserts were the cradle of modern man at a time when they had a temperate climate and that with the passing of the last glacial period when these regions gradually reverted to desert men were forced outward into Europe Asia and Africa.

Geographically in the first instance Africa was a part of a vast land continent called Gondwana land which included part of Brazil the Deccan Madagascar and Australia. It was separated from Europe by a narrow strip of sea. However Nature operating silently over thousands of years carved out of the sprawling land masses of Gondwana land the monstrous liver shaped 11 262 000 square miles of African continent with sea skirting all along its impregnable coast line raised high above water level.

Thus sealed off (hermetically as it were by its wild fauna and flora) from the outer world Africa lived in a kind of

privileged isolation for several thousand years and continued to develop its own peculiar form of life on an infinitely richer and varied scale. In the hush of its deep and dense forest retreats lived several races *e.g.* the tall Hottentots the heavy slow stepping Bantus the short-statured Pygmies the colourful Nilotic Negroes and a number of other racial groups such as Bushmen Hamites etc. They spoke hundreds of dialects and lived in perfect harmony with Life and Nature.

In sixth century B.C. brave Greek voyagers sailed around the edges of Africa but could no more penetrate it than a water bug can penetrate a stone.

The modern period of exploration was ushered in by Portuguese in fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These efforts were emulated by the Dutch Danish Spanish French and English voyagers missionaries and traders. In spite of the brisk trade in slaves and commodities all these nations dare not risk entry into the continent which consequently remained inaccessible to the world till the early years of 1800. The scramble for power and domination began as late as in 1870 and so swift was the process that by 1898 Africa stood portioned like a water melon between European powers.

In this way the age-old defences of Africa were broken and it lay open to the new winds of change which had started blowing across Asia. But this incursion of the whites into these primeval forests could not disturb its tranquillity and the even flow of life. The African mind did not react aggressively to this intrusion. It did not resist the entry of the white man into his forest privacy. It remained calm and restful as if in a trance. In fact in that state of uncorrupted innocence and

almost child-like credulity the African mind saw in the coming of the white-man an act of divine dispensation "His arrival implied the fulfilment of a dream or a promise which had been made to the Africans far back by life in its first beginnings" In this encounter between primitive people and the civilized white-men Africa unlike Asia in similar circumstances did not show signs of protest The white-man had not to wage wars of conquest against the Africans The Africans contemplated no rebellions and insurrections which were a feature of Asian struggle against imperialism in its earlier and later phases On the contrary, at that time the Africans showed extra-ordinary respect and obedience They were dutiful ever-ready to serve the whites, and showed a great willingness to learn and imitate the new-comers Almost all explorers and visitors whether Livingstone in nineteenth century or Churchill Gunther and Worst-horne in early or middle of twentieth century, have paid tribute to the peaceableness of the Africans They have all admired the decourousness and humility of Africans Gunther in his 'Inside Africa' says "To-day even savages in isolated territory usually welcome the sight of a white-man, who, if he behaves himself, is not likely to be molested by natives in Africa south of Sahara, except in such cases as in the Johannesburg slums or the Keneya Highland. There the deepest thicket in the bush are safer "

(iii)

resurgence

Several factors accounted for this kind of attitude of the Africans towards the whites Firstly, when the Europeans landed in Africa three hundred years ago, the colour prejudice was

much less marked. Secondly, European civilization showed its more idealistic and attractive aspect to the Africans—*e.g.* the Christianity and the Christian view of life and ethics for the African soul, and modern medicine for its disease-afflicted body. Europe offered to Africa its humanist ideas and humanitarian programmes of social and individual welfare. Africans, therefore, welcomed them and accepted the new dispensations of mercy and solace and succour.

Unfortunately, later Europe lost the sense of its own beginnings, it failed to live upto its own ideals, it refused to extend to the natives the privileges and opportunities it claimed for itself in Africa. "Having made the Africans aware of a new way of life Europe placed formidable legal and social obstructions in the way of the Africans to grasp and realize it; having destroyed the cultural defences of the African people the Europeans did not give them the protection of their own way of life and access to their own institutions; having taken away their way of life the Europeans made it impossible for them to acquire any other; having supplanted their law by theirs the Europeans gave them no right to live as this law demanded." This tragedy of moral will in Europeans and the unenlightened policies pursued by them in relation to the Africans disillusioned the mind of natives and on the contrary filled them with shocking despair and reaction. Ultimately the African acceptance and acquiescence and obedience changed into rejection, revolt and distrust which we see everywhere in Africa.

The temper of our times have also contributed to African resurgence. In Asia twentieth century is the century

of nationalism. The emergence of India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon, and Pakistan and China as free nations have acted like a catalyst in the African ferment. The successful national movements in Asia filled Africa with new hope and shattered the myth of white invincibility and superiority.

The influence of Gandhi's satyagrah movement in South Africa is not inconsiderable on the process of the awakening of Africa. Gandhi gave them first lessons in non-violent struggle and taught the Africans the techniques of peaceful revolution and resistance.

If Gandhi's contribution to African resurgence is the contribution of the struggling Asian seationalism, Nehru's influence is the contribution of a successful Asian nationalist movement to African upsurge. "It can be likened to the lever and the weight. Enormous is the weight and small is the lever." Nehru has contributed to the revision of the thoughts and beliefs of men of influence about Africa. He has played a great part in undermining the myth of the natural inferiority of the Africans. His foreign policy has given a lead to the emergent nations of Africa as to how to conduct their international relations without getting involved in the global East-West ideological conflict. "His influence has gone into the scales against extremist nationalism, against fanaticism against dogmatism, against ready made solutions, against cliché views of where and how one's loyalty should lie." (*Basil Davidson*).

Britain can also claim to have contributed to African resurgence positively. A truly revolutionary change has taken place in the way Britain is looking at Africa. Ideas and

opinions in Britain have supplied the inspiration, passion, and idealism to the Africans. In the past British colonial policy, in spite of its several lapses and locuncea, has been more benevolent, responsible and humane than the colonial policies of other European nations dominating Africa. Ernst Bevin defined British colonial policy, in three words 'Give--and--keep' Britain has ruled indirectly through the mechanism of native chiefs and its policy has been to train the Africans for self-government and they have slowly relaxed political control over their colonies by stages. Every British colony had some kind of arrangement by which the Africans can take part in their government.

Thus as a consequence of all these factors African revolution in its first phase is moving inexorably towards its consummation.

In 1960 not less than twelve new states will appear on the map of Africa—Mali, Togoland, Cameroons, Nigeria, Belgian Congo, Somalia, Somaliland, Madagascar, Tanganyika, Kenya, and Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Ghana is already free and so are Egypt, The Sudan, Ethiopia, Algeria, Libya etc.

(iv)

new tasks

Like a giant it is rubbing its eyes and looking out into the new world of freedom and hope and light. But the end of Africa's struggle against colonialism will be the beginning of a more difficult stage of its history. The problems of reconstruction in the post-independence era may prove too intractable and baffling for the infant African etates to solve.

Most of these problems stem from a common point, namely, the penetration of and acceptance by the Africans of the two powerful dynamic ingredients of Western culture—liberalism and scientific technology. As it has happened in Asia, liberal ideals and scientific techniques have initiated a process of far-reaching structural and value changes in Africa. The entire efforts of these emergent nations is concentrated on the task of re-building on the basis of these twin-ideals. And it is not any one's job to complete this tremendous change-over easily. The social costs and the emotional and spiritual strains involved in this revolutionary change are exacting. Europe paid the toll-tax of its entry into industrial civilization. But as the process of payment was spread over two centuries or more, its task was easy as compared to that of Africa which, in the peculiar circumstances of this age, is being forced to pay this tax instantaneously. The three main issues which African nationalism faces are: firstly the political—will the democratic formula of one-man-one-vote serve the present African reality? what modifications are essential if democracy is to prove really useful in Africa secondly. the social—to reduce the pain and frustration arising out of rapid social disorganization and to reconstruct social institutions on new foundations; thirdly, the economic—to raise the standard of living of teeming millions.

In the face of such tremendous problems African nationalism itself needs re-statement and re-definition. At present it is a blanket term denoting a reaction and a spirit of revolt of all Africans against colonialism and white racial oppression. In its post-colonial phase it should go beyond its present meaning and out-grow its present aggressive mode and get rid of its ambiguities and ambivalence. At present African

nationalism is nationalism without a nation as there are several races speaking hundreds of languages and having a bewildering variety of customs and traditions. It must become positive, constructive, responsible and undogmatic open-minded and free from historical prejudices

(v)

political reconstruction

African nationalism must be-aware of pre-mature democracy. It is no doubt true that one-man one-vote concept of democracy is desirable. However, at this stage of its development, this erstaz democracy will not inspire the unleavened lump of black Africa. Democracy is the most finished form of government suitable for only highly advanced societies. But in the hands of poor and poorly educated nations where there are no intellectual, economic, and social elite to man the apparatus of modern governments, the instrument of democracy instead of proving beneficial will prove fatal. "The monstrous paradox of democracy is that although it can be a useful instrument of prising a whole oligarchy off the seats of power, it is also an ideally-fashioned glue for sticking dictators in its place." And therefore, at this stage, in its purest form it cannot be a path of salvation of Africans.

In addition to this factor of social backwardness, illiteracy and lack of education, the racial situation in Africa south of Sahara, is a more complicating element. Democracy flourishes more conveniently in racially or socially homogeneous societies. But in multi-racial or heterogeneous societies such as India or Ceylon, democracy, in the first instance, acts like a divisive agent in absence of effective leadership or party organisation supported by or based on national consensus. Africa south of Sahara is multi-racial. A population of about 200

million consists of 8 indigenous racial groups excluding whites and Asians. These people speak something like seven hundred main different languages. Due to this general racial heterogeneity and particularly due to racial conflict between whites and the natives democracy will not be able to function properly in Africa at the early stages. Democracy and multi-racialism are incompatible in Africa to-day. The eighteenth century numerical concept of democracy will not suit Africa right away. The recourse to democracy is as much a long term danger to black freedom as a short-term threat to whites because now in Africa the white minority is engaged in all important professions: doctors, engineers, administrators, teachers, pilots, traders, financiers and industrialists etc. The political and numerical preponderance of the natives in the new states may satisfy the political idealist but without the cooperation of the white minority Africans will not be able to perform quickly and successfully the more tedious task of economic development. They will not be able to harness the rivers, penetrate these forests, fructify the deserts and bring light to the dark continent. Africa for Africans may prove a useful war-cry to seize political power but it can not be an instrument of policy after power has been wrested. In fact—Africans themselves are aware of this stark African reality. The African nationalists themselves do not want to push the whites into the sea. In the newly freed states like Ghana they want whites to do everything but govern. There their investments are guaranteed, there they accept their medicine, antibiotics, experts, tanks etc. Thus the application of the one-man-one vote brand of democracy will be a rule of the ineffective political majority over the effective and powerful minority. What kind of free society will that be? Will the whites, knowing full well their power, agree to play an eunuch

role in these states Will not these states fully realizing their helpless position interfere with the freedom of white minority in order to curb their power to do harm in the economic and other spheres This will then be racialism in the reverse This is the paradox of democracy in Africa south of Sahara It is slightly different from the situation in newly freed Asian countries like India where the situation was less acute than it is in Africa In these countries the expertize and skills however depleted required to run a modern states already existed when the foreigners departed

Therefore it is clear that the infant African nationalism is confronted with a very delicate problem African nationalism in its post colonial phase must act soberly It should eschew extremist policies and also refrain from pushing the slogan 'Africa for Africans' to its ultimate conclusion namely to disenfranchise the whites or to exclude them from the task of reconstruction A new partnership will have to be forged between the races Some sort of compromise will have to be effected so that without in any way watering down the very legitimate aspirations of Africans it may be possible for the whites to live in Africa and do their best for the uplift of Africans without injuring drastically their own legitimate claims It has been suggested that as a step towards creating any multi racial electorate a multi racial aristocracy be created Otherwise these new states will become hotbeds of political authoritarianism chaos or communism and they will become permanent international liabilities

social problems

'Africa is springing in a step from black magic to white civilization and in course of this process it is

skipping over several centuries of evolutionary process so essential for proper health and stability of the changing societies. Since 1945 very rapid and far-reaching changes have been taking place in these societies. On one hand the traditional tribal life and its mores, and family and community are subjected to the forces of disintegration. And on the other industrialization and urbanization is moving at a rapid pace and thereby throwing these societies into a number of crises. For example, Dakar in 1926 had 30,000 inhabitants, now it has 305,000; the population of Conakry increased from 13,600 in 1936 to 57,000 in 1950, the population of Lagos increased by 80 per cent between 1931 and 1950. The pull of the towns is very great due to the fact that the rural areas cannot provide the people with whole-time gainful employment throughout the year and consequently they are pushed out of the rural area to seek unskilled jobs in towns and the cities. In these urban centres people from rural areas find it difficult to adapt themselves completely to the new environment. They are often truculent, schizophrenic, and full of inferiority and insecurity. "An African negro, to be able to enter the western world has had to bridge an inordinately wide, difficult and painful gap in his own community, moreover, he will have had to face, like as not, intense bigotry, and intolerance from the Europeans."

African culture is based on land. It is attached to a particular area to which all custom, myth, history, and religion refer. Land gives all life and nurses ancestral spirit. On account of industrialization and its corollary urbanization this traditional basis of African culture is giving way and ultimately, if Africa loses its roots in the soil, it will lose all. But there is no alternative. These changes are coming over

Africa with the inexorability of natural forces. Every where there are indications of the effects of these forces. For example the economic unit formerly represented by the rural family can no longer be maintained. The parental authority is being undermined. The participant modes of corporate life in Africa is breaking very fast. One of the manifestations of this disorganization is the process of de-tribalization. Individualistic trends are also noticeable. The number and variety of occupations in urban centres is giving rise to a process of differentiation forshadowing the formation of social class. As a result of these fundamental changes these societies in transition are characterized by various kinds of tensions and compromises.

recialism

Of all the gigantic racial conflict issues which Africa faces the issue of racialism is the most challenging the most crucial and the most complex. In fact on its amicable solution depends the success of African venture. The existing situation as dramatized in Sharpsville and Langa far from being satisfactory is explosive. The triumphant nationalism in Africa should not approach this problem with an irresponsible spirit of political vendetta and irrational enthusiasm.

It is true that race question has fanned the fire of African revolt. It is also true that racialism is an outrage, a stigma and an insult to the whole humanity. African nationalism is to a great extent a child of racial discrimination. It is intolerable that out of a population of 193,000 000 not more than 5 000 000 should be white, who rule the rest. Out of this five millions 2.9 millions whites are concentrated in S. Africa, 1.6 in

French North Africa, and a million in east, west, and central Africa. The seriousness of the situation becomes more evident when these figures are further broken down as follows : in Nyasauland there are 2.4 million blacks and 4,073 whites ; in French Togoland 970,983 non-Europeans and 841 Europeans ; in Sierra Leone 1.8 million natives population and 598 whites ; in Nigeria out of 30 million people 11.7 thousand are whites.

This white minority controls the entire economic and financial life of the continent. Africans supply unskilled labour force in the mines, plantations, urban areas, farms, etc. A few of them are artisans, fewer still traders. In their own land Africans are hewers of wood and drawers of water.

To add insult to this injury there is racial discrimination which is practised in various forms in different parts of the continent South of Sahara. For example in South Africa racialism prevails in its most insolent and rabid form—Apartheid (pronounced apartate). A majority of whites are Afrikaaners who are the descendents of Dutch and French Hueguenots. In south Africa it is this group of highly race-conscious and very militantly organized people who are responsible for Apartheid which means a policy of racial separation in all aspects of life. It is a philosophy of establishing in South Africa a dichotomous society in which "the white and the black have a separate existence, socially, politically and economically." The Nationalist Government which came to power in 1948 has passed a number of laws such as Mixed Marriage Act (1950) preventing marriage between the Europeans and non-Europeans ; the Immorality Act (1950) which makes their sexual relations illegal ; the Population Registration Act (1950) which classifies the entire population into racial groups and the Group Areas Act—the kernel of

Apartheid-segregates these groups in separate areas for ownership, occupation, and trade, the separate Amenities Act (1951) provides for amenities according to race, the Bantu Education Act (1953) gives a system of education for Bantu, and finally there is the bill to create "homogenous administrative area for Bantu by uniting them" in one national unit concentrated in one homeland. This segregation is supported by Afrikaners whose secret society called Afrikaner Broederbond propagates through an elaborate net-work of cells in schools and colleges this ideal of racial segregations. Its members occupy key positions in civil services, police, treasury and railways etc. 40% of its members are teachers. Thus "the South African remesis is disguised as a university professor while that of Germany was a humble poorly educated house-painter."

In Portuguese Africa there is a unique innovation called *assimilado* which means that the native have to pass a series of written tests and interviews in order to be eligible for being declared civilized. The Africans who pass these tests are not discriminated against.

In East Africa racial discrimination takes a different form. It is less virulent than it is in South Africa. It is decreasing in Tanganyika. Uganda has no segregation in local transportation, the railroad, in shops or school. Africans are invited to Government House parties. But there are traces of colour bar in Uganda also.

In Belgian Congo the essence of system is to buy off African discontent by giving economic opportunity, widespread social services, and a comparatively high standard of living. Africans are no doubt given opportunities but not

equal opportunities There are double cities divided between whites and blacks Africans cannot travel without permit There is a limit to the vocational education of the Negro There is no legal bar on inter marriage

Thus it is clear that in Africa there is enough stuff to incite the forces of nationalism to bitter resentment "Africa for Africans" is a form of this angry protest But racialism in Africa is a veneer of monopolistic economic control of the Europeans over African wealth Except in South Africa where the ruling party believes in the master race theory, in other parts it is an economic issue

Africa should cast off this humiliating robe of racial inferiority But it should beware that in the process it does not injure its own interests Africa needs very sorely the assistance and goodwill of the whites, nay the whole world Some of the Africans in South Africa who have tasted of the western values and the fruits of western technology realize that it would be injurious to throw the whites into the sea Therefore while insisting on complete racial, social, and economic equality, it would be a counsel of unwisdom to insist on the complete disenfranchisement of the whites who have created for themselves a very strong and effective position in the life of Africa Ideally speaking self determination is the right of all races Africans also must have it But if Africans by their own free will and independent decision agree to forge a new partnership with the white on the basis of equality, they would serve the cause of the world as well their own, (for example Commonwealth and French community)

African nationalism has a high destiny And in full awareness of this wider perspective a solution of this explosive problem should be found Africa to day is a living laboratory and mirror of the tragedy and promise of our age In its present growth is telescoped the entire evolutionary process It is our great privilege to be witness to this change Africa is on the move On the young shoulders of nascent African nationalism has fallen the historic responsibility of leading the continent out of the darkness of Neolithic age into the illumination and splendour of Nuclear age

SCIENCE—THE NEW HORIZONS

We are at the portals of a new age . . . disquieting,
but grandiose and full of promise

—Gaston Berger

(1)

If in the first decade of the second half of the twentieth century the awakening of Africa marked the closure of the Last Frontier of the European imperialism, then during the same period revolutionary researches in several branches of science marked the opening of numerous other New Frontiers before mankind

dominions of stars

Man has broken through the barrier of space and blazed a trail across the skies. He has moved out of his cloistered nursery into the playground of stars. Their midst the galaxy of the stars and moons and suns, wanders the man-made baby satellite with the noise and dignity of its natural prototypes.

The science of astronautics has developed very rapidly in recent years. The possibility of the conquest of space and the prospects of the commencement of interplanetary travel are very real. Though it may take some more time to

materialize, the foundations of the science of astronautics have been well laid.

Astronautics will effect the study of physics and astronomy immediately. We may learn more about gravity. It is not improbable, if in courses of its interplanetary sojourns man may come across a new type of race—sub-human or super human. It may become easy for meteorological experts to make more accurate weather forecast.

At present the range of television programme is very limited. Even to cover a small country like Britain not less than a dozen stations are required. However, space stations will eliminate this difficulty. It may be possible for man to set up relaying stations in the space for inaugurating a system of world-wide television communication.

The space travel also may serve man in many more practical ways in the long run. It might help in easing the pressure of growing population; it may enable mankind to migrate to some other planet when it becomes difficult for human beings to survive on the earth on account of the extraordinary rise in the temperature of the sun.

Astro-nautics is bound to effect deeply the entire outlook of man on his life. It will effect ideas and human institutions as well. Historically, modern man is in the same situation as were his ancestors at the time of Renaissance when due to an unprecedented outburst of creative energy, there was a great flowering of art and literature and science. Man has scaled the highest mountain top, fathomed the deepest ocean, explored the most hazardous continents like Arctic and Africa; over-come fatal diseases and hostile environments, now the

horizon for old type of adventure appear to have been closed on him. And since conquest and empire have always been a source of great incentive to creative endeavour the conquest of space will provide to this closing narrowing civilization this very timely and necessary inspiration to rise above its petty bickerings. The vision of the rolling star-spangled spaces their expanses and awe some wildernesses will enlarge his point of view and eradicate the residual sense of narcissism which Darwin and Freud and Einstein and James Jeans had done much to shatter. He may start looking at the problems of his own life and society in a wider perspective. This might reduce the psychological pressures and tensions of a confined and cribbed world from which he is suffering today.

(ii)

where the frontiers meet

Science has explored another frontier—the frontier between the animate and the inanimate. Chemistry can interpret on a chemical basis the transition from the inanimate to the animate. It has been found that in the process of change into animate the inanimate matter acquires new physico-chemical qualities. It has also been found that nucleic acids are necessary to maintain cell life for the formation of protein for growth and for heredity. If the cell has its nucleus removed the protoplasm dies and the cells no longer survive. Even the growth of abnormal cells like cancer depend upon nucleic acids. It is not improbable that these explanations may in the long run be helpful in discovering the clue to the mystery of the origin of life on the earth. These researches also

tend to confirm what biologists like Haldane and other physicists and philosophers have said about the essential unity of life

heredity

Yet another captivating achievement of chemistry is in the sphere of heredity which it has been found is more or less determined by nucleic acid. Certain mutations can be obtained by interfering with some parts of these nucleic acids which are also affected by radioactivity. By using this knowledge it may be possible to alter the character of a group of people by altering the character of these acids. In human body there are about 30 molecules which chemists call steriods and which determine or can give indications of the future of the race. In a normal person the quantities of these molecules remains in a fixed ratio. It appears that in an ill person this ratio begins to change.

Now here is the clue to human morbidity and mortality. If it can be so arranged that this ratio is kept constant once and for all, then perhaps, man may have found the key to enjoy physical health and perhaps immortality as well. Experiments by Dr. Benoit in College de France Paris were conducted to modify artificially or influence certain heredity characteristics of creatures on the higher level of animal life, for example, white ducks. The use of desoxy-ribon nucleic acids (DNA) of one breed of duck was injected into the male and females of another breed of ducklings for several months and after some times there were significant changes in the physical characteristics of the ducks.

medicine

Medicine too has been revolutionized by the knowledge of nucleic acids which can be prepared synthetically and stored in a jar. The form of diseases can be changed by the use of these acids. The crystals of nucleic acids can be used to transmit diseases. The way is open to the production of viruses and genes etc.

Even in other spheres research on heart and arteries and joints have helped in curing old age diseases. Very rapid advances have been made in the sphere of nutrition. The discovery of vitamins and our understanding of the vital role of proteins and minerals in human diet has considerably increased. This has improved human health and increased longevity of life. Pernicious anemia and infectious diseases are no longer a scourge. Remarkable success has been scored by chemistry in medicine and in collaboration with biology it might be able to find a cure for cancer. It has already found a cure for two very dreadful diseases cerebro spinal meningitis and pneumonia.

synthetic stuffs

Chemistry has started producing synthetic fabrics and plastic rubber by the chemical treatment of petroleum and petrol. It will be possible for chemistry to give any quality to these materials in order to make them suitable for a wide range of uses from clothing manufacture to machine construction in which they will replace metals.

Besides these chemistry is engaged in the task of finding such chemical processes as will enable it to find new ways of producing food outside organism by using as raw materials albumins and carbohydrates of algae and the green matter of plants

If existing chemical processes were fully applied to agriculture in the food, food problem of the poor countries of this world would soon be solved not only for existing population but also for future ones several times greater

These breath taking revelations may enable science to make another breach in the citadel of want and scarcity and death. And this time it is the man of chemistry and the engineer who leads this march of exploration of these new frontiers

(III)

into the republic of mind

More important and significant than the great leap which man with the help of scientific technique, has taken into the trekless expanses of the outer spaces is his successful attempt to invade the labyrinthine parishes of the human mind. The efforts of psychology and social psychology have been reinforced by the sciences of cybernetics and pharmacology

cybernetics

Cybernetics is the name given to the study of the various functions of the brain and the possibility of constructing machines for taking over some of these functions. For example, there is the Gamma Calculator, the first of its type to be designed in France which can add and subtract figures upto 12 digits in 0.17 thousandth of a second and gives answers to

multiplication of eleven digits by twelve digits in twenty one thousandth of a second ! This machine not only prints the answers to the problems posed but stores them in a 'memory' . A giant calculator can do the job of computation which could be completed by 25 000 mathematicians . There are also miniature flying brains which can take decisions for the pilots flying at supersonic speed . These brains can take 6 500 decisions per minute . In Russia a driverless tractor has been made .

Besides automatic computing there is the automatic translator with built in dictionaries . This machine will be able to consult grammatical morphological or syntactical tables . It can scan tables of prepositions tenses of verbs and doing in fact the same work which a translator does . A day will come when an automatic translator will be able to translate prose at a scarcely believable speed of 20 000 words an hour . These machines open up vast opportunities of the extension of knowledge particularly standardizable scientific works in the world . There is a possibility that electronic brains will be able to operate factories and run automobile production lines .

new drugs

The last five years have seen a remarkable growth of interest in the action and mode of action of drugs on mental functions of man . All such drugs which effect psychological functions are designated by the term psychopharmaceuticals which include tranquilizers, psychochemicals phrenotropic or neurotropic drugs etc . There are three major categories of these psychopharmaceuticals—those which restrict, limit restrain depress either normal and abnormal psychological functions, those which increase elevate arouse or stimulate either normal and abnormal psychological functioning, and

those which produce abnormal psychological states of one kind or another. They can create marked mental disturbances in man and help bringing to the surface unconscious material which is inaccessible to standard methods of analysis. These drugs can modify the personality structure and the perceptive, integrative and executive functions of the ego in such a way as to facilitate more adequate patterns of behaviour and strengthen adaptive resources of the human personality.

Thus pharmacology together with bio-chemistry and neurology are on the march and in a few years better chemical methods for increasing suggestibility and lowering psychological resistance will be discovered.

These drugs are being used (not for curing) in psychotherapy very frequently to diminish the intensity of symptoms and help the patient to overcome those more severe symptoms, to control the disturbances in the unconscious or to diminish consciousness and remove inhibition.

(iv)

conclusion

These are revolutionary changes indeed. These are the new horizons which recent researches in certain branches of sciences have opened up before mankind. One after another the layers of mystery enshrouding the Reality are being removed. The extension of the dominion of man over space and time, the increased ability to control his own environment, the incursions in human mind, the understanding of the processes of birth, growth and decay—all these tend to point out that man is on the way to acquiring such powers as gods possess and wield, and that at a later date in future man may be able to change the very reference of his own existence and with an act of his

will change the course of civilization. If he is wise, he can lead humanity out of conditions of inevitable scarcity into an age of potential abundance.

In fact all humanity has seized upon this opportunity. The call of these new horizons is so irresistible that today every country is caught in the wheel of technical change—relentlessly, irretrievably, and inescapably—in order to establish its suzerainty over these new vistas of power and adventure. So enticing are its fruits, so ravishing is the splendour to which it points out, so spectacular is the promise of its achievements, and so overpowering is its magic that very few have the inclination to pause and consider its dangerous proclivities. Wither we are all being led by this modern Pied Piper no one knows—a land of resplendent promise or treacherous hope. However, if we really wish to benefit from these developments it is imperative that we did not ignore the risks and uncertainties which an uncritical acceptance of these new sources of power would land us into.⁴ The very unprecedented character of new opportunities make the task of reconstruction formidable.

much himself—unmasked un inhibited and unguarded where there is no nagging censorship of custom and decency and decorum and where his thoughts and yearnings have the fullest freedom to frisk and ply about as freely as the wind moves among the leaves

However these drugs threaten this privacy of the individual's inner life they will expose the sacred and secret sanctuary of human mind and place as it were all our private feelings in the market place exposed to the full glare of public eye These drugs will render the walls of our mind transparent and just as we watch the going ons in a store through its glass windows and doors so will each individual be able to watch the movement of the thoughts feelings intentions and motives of other person by administering such a miracle pill That man will be deprived of his privacy of thoughts is a very revolting anticipation

More revolting than this danger to man's inner privacy is the fear that these drugs in the hands of dictators or in dictatorial regimes will be put to more disastrous uses namely for indoctrination and to control and manipulate the mind of individual and groups This will give rise to another kind of slavery Men will become psychological captives in that case and thus the last defence of freedom would have collapsed

These fears are not imaginary Huxley in his *Brave New World Revisited* gives a very vivid account of the dangers to which freedom of thought stands exposed Moreover there are actual instances of governments which use these methods of *mind manipulation for political purposes and advantages*

What external force can stop the powerful arm of a scientific civilization from not subjugating others? What can check its infinite capacity for diabolical harm? The antidote of absolute power is ethical power which alone can serve as an effective built-in device in a scientific culture fully charged with the evil propensities for self destruction. Scientific techniques today are like an army of tanks that have lost its driver and are heading towards disaster blindly and ruthlessly. Without inner poise and balance human mind will simply be stunned by the very staggering vastness of his new kingdom and opportunities of building a new world

FOCUS ON HIGH-SPOTS

DEMOCRACY—ITS PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS IN S E ASIA

'at the present moment democracy is—I won't say in bad repute—but certainly not in a very happy state

—*Nehru*

(i)

In 1958 a tremor shook many democratic and semi-democratic countries in South East Asia. A military general asserting that Pakistan was not ready for democracy brushed aside the democratic constitution of 1956 which was adopted after 9 years of struggle and labour. In Burma the Parliament nominated Commander in Chief Ne Win to assume the responsibility of the government and to arrange for fresh elections. Later in 1959 President Sukarno decreed the suspension of the 1950 constitution and proclaimed the return to the 1945 constitution. Even in India the bulwark and show case of democracy in Asia some people began to express their doubts and anxiety about the suitability of parliamentary version of democracy for under-developed areas.

At that time the minds of the freedom loving people were filled with deep anxiety about the future of freedom in Asia. Was democracy doomed in Asia? Are Asians destined to write the epitaph of democracy which they had accepted so unreservedly and enthusiastically at the end of colonial rule? These and similar doubts arose in the minds of Asians. And thus Asia also

joined the marathon world wide debate on democracy, which since it was initiated by Socrates in Athens has been going on endlessly through ages

Asian mind is grappling with this problem stubbornly Asia must find out a suitable pattern of political organization The debate must continue because the stakes are very high The only alternative to democracy in Asia will be a relapse into colonialism or chaos and communism

(ii)

the nature of the problem

Is it a fact that democracy will not flourish in Asia? Is its future dark here? What exactly is the nature of the problem? These are difficult nonetheless imperative and relevant questions Obviously, answers to these questions will and in the very nature of things must vary from country to country, although there may emerge points common to all countries in this area

Burma From 1948 when Burma won freedom to October 1958 when General Ne Win was nominated as the Prime Minister, the entire decade may be considered as times of trouble' for Burma Except for optimism and enthusiasm Burmese democracy had no other asset

Broadly stated Burmese democracy was confronted with two sets of problems, first more pressing and immediate, the task of establishing law and order and political stability, and second more fundamental and long term to initiate the process of modernization and unification of Burma

Upto 1953 the democratic state made gigantic efforts to fulfil both these assignments. It launched an unremitting campaign to bring law and order in the outlying country side where armed dacoits made life and prosperity insecure. It also engaged itself in dealing with the Communist and Karen rebels who maintained local or private armies to promote political ends.

As regards the problems of unification ethnic diversity cultural pluralism and group antagonism are the characteristics of Burmese society—twelve million Burmans and seven million other racial groups namely Shans Karens Kachins Chins Arakanese and Mons comprise this society. The new constitution of free Burma settled these centuries old problem of ethnic diversity by providing for a pattern in which the claims of separate groups could be reconciled within the framework of the larger unity of Burma.

However during the first five years and even later the party in power which was dominated by one racial group namely Burmans inspite of its several dramatic gestures failed to create confidence in the minority groups. It sought to create unity by its policy of Burmanization which ran counter to the constitution and its formal pronouncements. The nationalizing policies of the Union Government in respect of education language and the use of Buddhism as a vehicle of nationalizing policy promoted disunity. The cultural and political domination of the central union government was resisted by the privately armed groups and locally organized defence forces.

However democracy in Burma had crossed the shoals by 1953 and from the 1953 to 58 it devoted itself to the task of economic reconstruction through planning

In 1958 a new crisis which was brewing underneath since 1956 overtook the democratic government. The ruling party (Anti Fascist People's Freedom League) which so far had functioned as a coalition of several groups was now rent with factionalism at the top. The elite of the party was split into the clean AFPEL and the stable AFPEL under the leadership of U Nu and on one side and Kyaw Nyien and Ba Swe on the other. This catastrophic split was ominous. The country stood on the verge of civil war. And finding that the civil administration will not be able to handle this situation the assistance of the army was taken according to the procedure and Ne Win was nominated as Prime Minister unopposed.

Ne Win and his men carried out their duty with supreme detachment. He and his team have upheld the democratic constitution and after having restored the normal democratic government the General stepped down from the seat of authority like a true professional.

Does this show that democracy as an ideal collapsed in Burma? As Burmese people and their elected representatives including General Ne Win and his team have showed respect for the democratic procedures and values it is difficult to endorse the pessimistic views of the doubting Thomases. It showed certain weaknesses of the democratic regime in respect of absence of adequate administrative and organizational ability? The aid of the army was taken because it was the only organized

and disciplined force in a country weakened over years by racial dissensions and party factions and because the political party in Burma failed to provide dynamic leadership to the country in times of crisis

Pakistan : Here again the democratic regime started with serious handicap—the wave of murder and loot, religious fanaticism millions of refugees from India, inadequate administrative and organizational set up undeveloped economic resources and absence of positive values of political idealism for the reconstruction of Pakistan which was the result of a very negative movement fed by and sustained on anti-Hindu sentiments in pre independence era

The causes of the crisis of democracy in Pakistan are rooted in the history of political development of these areas now called Pakistan and the nature of Muslim politics all over India before 1947. Party indiscipline and political opportunism was a characteristic feature of Muslim politics. It was only a strong man like Jinnah and a good man like Liaquat Ali who could check this tendency of politicians and keep them together. After their death the Muslim League as the majority party ceased to be effective and political conditions in Pakistan reverted to discord corruption and indiscipline of the pre-partition era. Absence of clearly defined ideals and the consequent inability of the ruling party to provide guidance to the people created a deep vacuum in the political life of Pakistan.

Faced with these circumstances and due to his own peculiar background of having hailed from Indian Civil Service, Ghulam Mohammed who succeeded the weak man Nazimuddin

started using the arbitrary powers of the Head of the State for political ends. He left the path of constitutionalism and put Pakistan on the road to dictatorship. He dissolved the Constituent Assembly and when he began to decide by executive action some of the constitutional questions, the Supreme Court had to intervene. After that he appointed a new cabinet (consisting of Mirza Iskander and General Ayub Khan). The new Constitution body drafted a new constitution, which was a venture in dualistic federalism with unicameralism at the centre and in the provinces. The parity between the East and West Pakistan were recognized. Major Iskander Mirza was elected as the President. However, as this new constitution also could not ensure political stability, it was suspended by the President after two and half years of its commencement.

All this shows how fast Pakistan politics was going downhill. On one hand the parliamentary leaders watched this deterioration and without any protest accepted these successive blows on democracy. The army leaders got courage from De Gaulle and Ne Win to step in to the chaos and instability created by power-crazy, insincere, and opportunistic leadership. One day in 1958, Gen Ayub emerged at the top as the saviour of democracy. The record of General Ayub cannot be ignored. *His effort may be considered as "an effort to make up for the death of Jinnah and Liaquat Ali and to resume their work."* He is creating preconditions of democracy in Pakistan. He has promised the return to a stable constitutional form of Government. His policies do not smack of a dictator trying to fortify his own position. *His regime has purged the country of graft, corruption, nepotism and inefficiency. More than*

that to all intents and purposes he is trying to evolve a pattern of democracy which will suit the conditions in Pakistan.

What again is the lesson. Democracy in Pakistan was conditioned by its very origin and heritage. The main danger to democracy in Pakistan has been from political disruption rather than physical economic and administrative weaknesses.

Indonesia : The story of democracy in Indonesia covers 15 years—a period of suffering and strain, crises and disasters, rebellions and insurrections. Throughout this period we can observe how inspite of their sincere attempts to live up to democratic traditions, Indonesians have drifted away from the path of democracy by the overwhelming pressure of circumstances and needs.

On 17 August 1945 the Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed by a group of determined men. On 18 August 1945 the new Republic adopted a democratic constitution.

But three months after the adoption of the constitution unexpected alteration in the governmental form had to be made in response to changing circumstances and needs. The President Sukarno evolved an entirely different kind of governmental form independent of the constitution. At the best it could only be considered as popular representatives regime, a government for the people.

Thus Indonesian democracy at the very outset had to make a compromise with the circumstances. The price for survival, unity, and stability was that the main provisions of the consti-

tution which remained unimplemented while its transitory provisions acquired permanence

On 27 December 1949 when the Dutch withdrew formally, a new constitution was again adopted. As was the case with the first constitution this one was also faced with unparalleled problems of reconstruction.

It would be interesting to recount the salient features of the Indonesian political landscape from 1949 to 1959. Within the fourteen years from 1945 Indonesia has changed its constitution four times. First one adopted in 1945 lasted 4-5 years—the second adopted in 1949 lasted seven and half months the third was adopted in 1950—and the fourth was in the offing. As regards cabinet changes since 1945 more than a dozen and a half and since 1949 more than half a dozen ministerial changes have taken place.

During this period the Indonesian Republican Government in Java faced several armed insurrections. There was a major rebellion in 1958. A similar insurrection took place in the outer Islands in 1952 there was a communist lead rebellion in Surakarta and Madure. The conspiratorial political activities of Darul Islam took place in 1949. All these armed rebellions were expressive of the strong resentment of the outer islands of the outer islands of Indonesian Republic against extreme centralization of political power in Java.

Army in Indonesia has not been free from politics. It meddled with civil administration on several occasions. For example on 17 October in 1952 a group of army officers personally demanded dissolution of the Parliament and for the preparation of general elections.

Indonesian Army is riddled with cliques, and political parties have been exploiting them. Indonesia had its first general elections in March 1956—11 years after the proclamation of the Republic and 7 years after independence. And even this popularly elected government did not last long. At the end of 1956 Indonesia was overtaken by a tidal wave of political unrest in Sumatra and other islands. In February 1957 the unrest was so widespread that the authority of the central government did not exist beyond the shores of Java. Against in 1958 a major rebellion broke out in Sumatra and guerilla warfare broke out in other parts. Civil war was imminent. Therefore the President publically declared the failure of western type of democracy in Indonesia. He denounced this free fight liberalism which acted like a divisive force in a country where there existed a host of political parties such as extremist element like left wing revolutionaries and ultra nationalists religious extremists die hard federalists moderate left of socialists and of the centre nationalists etc.

On 5 July 1959 President Sukarno decreed the return to 1945 constitution put an end to this situation created by continual party disagreements inter party-facuds. Indonesia will now experiment with the conception of guided democracy in which there is great de-emphasis on party activity and with them another chapter opens in the story of the development of democracy in Indonesia. The faith of the people in democracy remain unshaken but they are trying to adapt the original western concept to suit a pluralistic society.

An analysis of the main reasons for the delay in holding elections in Indonesia will reveal a very interesting feature of Indonesian political scene. From 1950 to 1956 popular

sentiment has always expressed itself in favour of holding general elections. But the political parties have for one reason or other manouvered to have them postponed. All of them felt that to bring elections will be to play with political dynamite. Thus the protectors and operators of democracy in Indonesia have been undermining the foundations of democracy in Indonesia in order to perpetuate the positions and privileges which they have been enjoying for such a long time with the support of a very powerful and popular President who through out this period of tribulations in Indonesia has remained steadfast and constant.

Indonesian leadership lacks a common basis of understanding and national consensus which is so necessary for the successful functioning of democracy anywhere. All parties use the words democracy or socialism. But there is no agreement on the contents of these words which, it appears, have acquired a great myth value in Indonesia.

In Indonesia there is a wide gap between the political elite at the top and the teeming millions below who think and act at two different planes. The absence of politically conscious middle classes accounts for the existing situation in Indonesia.

Indonesia is in transition. There politics have not been made into statecraft. The mind of Indonesia stands between 'a shattered myth and an unformulated one'. Democracy implies decision making by millions. How can these millions in Indonesia work this system when they do not know their minds and when they are not clear about their goals.

India* : " Pericles said that Athens is the school of Hellas. Mr. Nehru without boasting may say that Delhi is school of Asia" India which occupies such a crucial position in Asia in the eyes of foreign observers had also not an easy time in evolving its system of democracy.

It also started upon its career of self-government with several handicaps, namely, depleted administrative cadre, formidable problem of refugee rehabilitation, princely states, an economy shattered by war and partition, Kashmir problem, depleted armed forces, provincialism and regionalism. What has stood between anarchy and order? What has stood between dictatorship and democracy—it is this nucleus of able leadership and a very well organized party. Moreover, India knew her mind however vaguely; it had a goal. There was some element of old idealism and vision in its political life. India prepared and adopted its constitution quickly. This served as the source of inspiration and pride for its people, who got confidence, sense of direction, cohesion and stability it desired.

Although it has its own intractable problems, so far India, of all the other democratic Asian countries, have escaped the unfortunate experience of its neighbours. Perhaps it may be subjected to similar experiences after Nehru and the collapse of Congress. Then, some people fear, India will start on the same process out of which other Asian countries seem to be coming out.

However, chances are that India will be spared these experiences. There is in India a keen awareness of this fact. Recently two major attempt been made to improve the pros-

*For detailed study of Parliamentary Democracy in India see Unorthodox Essays.

pects of democracy The sarvodaya leader Jai Prakash Narain has made an impassioned plea for reconstruction of Indian polity on an entirely new basis His paper A Plea for Reconstruction of India Polity has been very widely discussed among the intellectual elite But it is slightly idealistic and vague in some respects The great merit of this paper lies in the deep anxiety with which it is written and the manner in which it has made people start thinking about the question

The second and more practical attempt is the emergence of Swatantra Party as a conservative opposition to the socialist policies of the Congress Due to absence of any sharp ideological cleavage in the past Indian democracy was seriously handicapped by an absence of opposition Congress brand of socialism had taken the wind out of the sails of other moderate leftist opposition parties which at best served as pressure groups Now whatever the initial composition of the Swatantra Party it fills this gap It is still premature to say anything categorically about the ultimate value of Swatantra opposition However, it may be said that under the leadership Rajagopalchari it may be able to create an institutional arrangement by which the task of building opposition in future may become easy If Swatantra fails then uneasy days lie ahead of India's democracy after Nehru

This is the story of diagnosis democracy in some of the Asian countries The pattern of growth and development of democratic traditions has many points of resemblance inspite of local variations This is natural because all these countries are passing through the same phase of historical development These societies share common traits such as

ethnic diversity cultural variety, religion, illiteracy, community-centered social organization, absence of liberal tradition of thought and government, and the pluralistic character of society—all these features condition the growth of democratic tradition.

So far democracy has flourished in homogeneous societies. Homogeneity enabled the party system to develop along national lines. It also made for continuous though changing system of public opinion controlled by parties. Heterogeneity in the first instance promotes factionalism and regionalism in absence of tolerance and large patriotism. Culturally nationalism is foreign to Asia. "It has never been the habit of the Asian gland It has never been its stereotype". Prior to independence nationalism did act as unifying forces. However, after freedom the pilot motive dropped and there developed in Asian countries rabid forms of factionalism and regionalism and linguism

The pluralistic character of Asian societies created many problems for democracy. In absence of strong leadership or an effective party or both or political idealism democratic principle of self determination acted like a divisive force and raised problems of religious or ethnic or cultural or racial minorities and promoted regionalism. Democracy has an answer for this kind of social situation. But it fails in absence of certain ethical and social pre-conditions

Individualism, the fundamental concept of democracy; has not been a part of Asian tradition. The individual's subordination to the group—family, caste, village, sect, or race—is a characteristic feature of Asian society. Therefore Asians

cannot easily appreciate and assimilate the traditions of western brand of individualism. The survival of democracy is deeply connected with the rapid re-orientation of the structure of these societies.

Anything that has discredited democracy most in the eyes of the people in Asia is the manner in which political parties have operated there. This constitutes an unhappy chapter in the story of the development of democracy in Asia. There are reasons for it. In the first instance political parties have not developed as an integral part of the society in response to some vital social need. On the contrary these parties have been built from above by a group of educated westernized elite. Consequently there is always a gap between the leadership and the followers in several countries (the exception being India).

However, it must be conceded that stability in some countries in Asia has been a function of parties. A strong and big party has acted like bulwark between order and anarchy. Wherever the political party has shown signs of weakness (e.g. in Pakistan or in Burma democratic processes got hampered).

It may also be observed that wherever in Asia middle classes have been strongest and politically conscious democracy has been more stable and there democratic ideals have taken firmer roots. This is particularly true of India. In other countries the gap between the electors and the elected has been very wide and consequently there has been little interaction between the two.

During the pre independence era the middle class westernized elite were at the vanguard of the national liberation. They—the educated westernized elite—are successors to the power positions in these countries where formerly the aristocracy and feudal lords had been the repositories of power. Now on this class falls the historic responsibility of promoting the cause of democracy. 'Middle classes are the heir to Asia' in a sense that they possess all the technical and professional skills required for running a democratic government. They alone can act as a bridge between the ruler and the ruled. Therefore much depends in Asia upon the pattern of relationship between this elite, the masses and the government.

(4)

prospects

From Manila to Accra democracy is a legacy of colonial or imperial rule. This is partly due to the work of the colonial powers who under pressure or due to lukewarm political idealism had set up some rudimentary versions of democratic regimes in these areas. It may also be due to the fact that in course of their contact with the west the elite in these areas avidly imbibed the ideals of liberalism and made it the basis of their political faith. Therefore democracy in Asia is not an entirely alien phenomena. Even the masses in course of their struggle against the ruling powers had learnt to value this ideal and now whatever may their failings democracy is a magic word in Asia and it expresses the most deeply felt urges and aspirations of the teeming masses. In presence of this universal will to democracy it is difficult to be unduly

pessimistic about the future of democracy in Asia. The success of democracy depends upon the quality of middle class leadership and honesty with which they will formulate the unexpressed or inarticulate ambitions of the masses and direct them along constructive channels.

Asia stands committed to democracy. It opted for it because it was an almost an historical inevitability, a political necessity and it was internationally expedient. At the time of its adoption the elite made a choice on behalf of Asian millions and now it is expressive of the will of the people.

It is no doubt true that democracy in its original version may not suit Asian environment. It may have to be modified in so far as its institutional and organizational aspects is concerned but it is improbable that it will be abandoned by Asians. Therefore the debate about democracy is not a search for alternative forms of government but a quest—a more positive quest—for finding a version of democracy which will conform to the social and economic and cultural realities of the Asian societies.

One of the possible variations which is in the offing in these areas is the acceptance of the principle of conformity as opposed to the rule by majority. On account of the pluralistic character of Asian society the classical pattern of the rule of the majority will have to be abandoned and in its place argument, pressure or persuasion will have to be adopted in order to maintain harmony between the various constituent groups. Consequently the possibility of coalition cabinets being formed may be considered.

There is another modification which may help the process of adaptation. The progressive process of democratic decentralization and checks and balances. This again is finding very favourable response in India.

Democracy in Asia is passing through an evolutionary process. Every crisis in democracy should not be construed as a point of collapse or threat to democracy. It must be understood in a proper perspective.

In the west also democracy had to pass through several trials. Its present finished form is the residue of long process of suffering experimentation and adjustment and adaptation. To compare that finished product of democracy with that of free Asian countries whose nationhood is as many years old as there are centuries of growth behind the western countries is rather unfair.

It is no doubt true that democracy is a challenge to Asia. But Asia has also thrown a challenge to the western theory of liberalism. The concept of democracy is bound to be enlarged, enriched by its encounter with Asia. It may involve new mutations and here in lies the opportunity of democracy in Asia.

The problem of democracy in Asia is the problem of reconstruction of Asian societies in the image of the basic ideals of democracy which have universal validity. The entire efforts of these countries after the consummation of their national movements has been to reconstruct their traditional societies on the basis of liberal ideals. But since these societies were not otherwise prepared for this change-over and since there did not

exist in these societies certain preconditions of the growth of democratic form of government there were some difficulties. Most of the problems of democracy in Asia stem from this point—absence of the infra structure which support the political structure.

In Asia the will to democracy is not dead. It is the zeitgeist which the Asian minds cannot resist. Such is the potency of this thought, such is the resilience of democracy and such the respect it commands in this area that even the generals and strong men who rose to power in this area could not openly declare themselves against the ideology. They came and remain as the saviours of democracy.

EDUCATION FOR A DYNAMIC—SOCIETY ITS PROBLEMS

. human history becomes more and more
a race between catastrophe and education

—Wells

(1)

society and education

Education is as vitally connected with the life of society as it is with the inner life of individuals. An educational system does not operate in a vacuum, sealed off from the stresses and strains, and pressures and propensities of the realities of collective life. In fact, the system acquires its unique character, colour and content from the prevailing social ideals, the political pattern, the cultural values and other needs and forms of the country in which it operates. 'As is the society, so the school'

In an authoritarian order the educational system will tend to idealize and inculcate values of obedience, loyalty, and uncritical acceptance. The traditional Indian society had a religious view of life, authoritarian view of society, feudal economy, and pluralistic social structure. Consequently, its educational system encouraged allegiance to hierarchy, and respect for elders, teacher, king and parents. The educational system in a democratic socialist state will encourage spontaneous and uninhibited expression of man's creative pursuits.

and it will tend to make him free. A scientific and technological society will need an educational system which will stimulate intellectual alertness, spirit of relentless enquiry, and bold experimentation. It will also work to enable it to cope with its needs of specialization and multiplicity of skills.

As 'the educational system reflects the ethos of the people whom it is established to serve' any shift or change in the basic values or objectives or needs of a people must of necessity be followed by corresponding changes in the control and management, methods and contents, and the general pattern of education. Every society at a particular stage of development makes use of a set of skills and expertise—both technical and social. One of the functions of the educational system is to supply the social system with these requirements which do not remain constant over a period of time. The educational system must therefore be capable of continual re-adaptation and renovation. Its usefulness depends upon the rate at which and the flexibility with which it can incorporate within itself new ingredients and elements. For example, Europe in course of its transformation from a feudal to industrial civilization could very successfully reorganize its educational system in, a manner that it could provide the new society with new skills, knowledge, and expertise, and new social ethics and new social technology. But now at its present advanced stage of development, when the atomic age has dawned, when there is an unprecedented extension of man's frontiers into space, when man has taken giant strides in mastering nature, when every day new horizons of power and energy are opening themselves up to man, when man has developed very diabolical means of self-destruction, the educational system in there is finding itself incapable of

providing suitable checks and built-in defences to counteract the new forces. Consequently these civilizations are passing through times of great anxiety.

An educational system is not autonomous. Things outside school matter even more than things inside school and govern and interpret the things inside. For it to be and to remain useful an educational system must be responsive to social forces. However an educational system like other social institutions cannot possess limitless capacity for adaptation. A lag between social forces and educational readjustment is certain.

life and say we have studied it our most elaborate view is no more than an impression if we had breathing time we should take the occasion to modify and adjust but it is vain to seek consistency or expect clear and stable views in a medium so perturbed and fleeting we live with a pistol to our head we are confronted with a new set of conditions on which we have not only to pass a judgment but to take action before the hour is out And we cannot regard ourselves as constant our own identity seems in a perpetual variation' Such a society in flux creates enormous problems for educational system

(11)

forces of dynamism

Three factors account for this extraordinary out burst of dynamic energy firstly the rapid growth of basic sciences and continual expansion of the frontiers of knowledge secondly the rapid technological advances arising out of the process of conversion of the knowledge provided by basic sciences thirdly, the birth and growth of new ideas and ideologies Each of these factors create a set of problems for the educational system in modern societies

quantification of knowledge

Knowledge is increasing fast One discovery leads to another One question poses another Men of sciences go on answering these by raising many more Consequently there is a tremendous quantification and multiplication of knowledge Its variety its infinite dimensions its ramifications and its complexity is baffling in fact maddening If there is anything that is very difficult of easy realization these days it is this to remain up to-date,

This multiplication and quantification of knowledge creates corresponding problems of distribution. Like wealth, concentration of knowledge, whether in the hands of a state or individuals or organization or even nations is dangerous for freedom.

In recent times, concentration combined with secrecy of basic knowledge about natural and social phenomena has endangered the freedom of people. Never was the much-worn out adage "knowledge is power" so relevant as it is today. Big Governments and Big Business are exploiting this power for realizing undesirable ends.

Therefore, one of the tasks of education in a dynamic society is to provide for a rapid, wide, and unrestricted dissemination and diffusion of knowledge from life and the centres of research to the centres of teaching and to the centres where it can be put to practical use.

It imposes new responsibilities on the teaching institutions and their staff. The teachers at all levels, being the purveyors of knowledge to the millions, have to make every attempt to remain up-to-date. In fact, he must be helped by various devices to remain up-to date. The university curricula have to be more periodically reviewed in order to bring it in line with the contemporary thought and life, in order to enable the students to acquire a "feel" of the world into which he will return after studies.

It is not only essential to create but also to maintain this contemporary sensibility in the post-educational stages of his life. This creates a need for continuous education of individuals in terms of modern sensibility. The educational

system must become community-centered (the boundaries between the university and the community should now disappear) Arrangements for the initiation of extension courses for adults must be made in order to replenish and refresh their knowledge Even others who wish to start afresh should be allowed to participate in the extension courses. The employers should encourage their staff to participate in these courses This increasing quantity of knowledge from universities and colleges and schools must be channeled through numerous conduits and canals like the water supply system of a modern cosmopolitan city Let new knowledge flow unimpeded to the last man in the community and let the last man in the community have access to the highest sources of knowledge without any difficulty.

In this context the presence of restrictive rules and regulations regarding the eligibility of individuals to partake of the knowledge and the intellectual heritage stored in universities, colleges, and schools, in the countries are irrelevant. The educational system in an open society must facilitate and, in fact, stimulate people to study. The galling barriers between universities, the stupid barrages between various stages of the educational career, the undesirable hinderances of class or status or the unnecessary limitation of age and sex—all these have no place in the new educational set up The portals of the mansions of knowledge must be thrown open to all—all those who would like to enter. Education should not become the monopoly of a few. Only this kind of open system of education can serve the open and eclectic world in which knowledge grows aimlessly.

How can an educational system cope with this quantification of knowledge which to say the least a large number of people who are associated with administration governance and guidance of modern communities ought to have. A system of education which has to provide for a continual revision re appraisal renovation and replenishment and equal distribution of the quantum of knowledge is alive. The universities and colleges and schools will serve no useful purpose if they continue to serve the students with old world knowledge and old world values which the students are bound to find worthless in the real world.

In India we come across a very depressing phenomena. Except for the sciences to some extent the courses and curricula of studies have an insulted classical or exclusively historical orientation. Even at the post graduate level more emphasis is laid on the chronological development of subjects of study. The syllabus of many universities in India end at the 19th century or the first quarter of 20th century. In any case it does not come any way near fifties and the contemporary scene. This trend is marked in arts. As if this is not bad enough to make the situation worst the teachers are themselves not aware of the latest developments in their specialty. Living in the back waters of knowledge they feed their students upon quarter century old concepts and values. Their notes and information are based on what they gathered from their respective teachers who in turn learnt the same subject from still older teachers.

The fate of these youngmen fed on third hand stale knowledge having poor intellectual calibre and limited horizons with minds furnished with out-of-date and archaic mental

equipment, have a very difficult time outside in the competitive society which demands of them the presence of sharply developed contemporary sensibility. The standards of proficiency are very high. A look at the syllabi of any UPSC competitive examination in India—be it for Indian Administrative Services or for Dehradun Military Academy or Engineering or Railways—will show how great is the lag that exists between what is being taught and the manner in which it is being taught and what is expected of the students. The educational system has no relation to the career and vocational requirements of the young men.

These half-educated people, who having acquired degrees and diplomas develop a false sense of confidence, are inclined to think that they know while they do not. Thus, poor souls, they are deprived of even the last chance of redemption which lies in humility.

Consequently these mentally dwarfed and archaic personalities fed on the gruel of lifeless descriptive historical data, unlevended by critical thought and unilluminated by interpretation take to still more disasterous and incapacitating methods of gathering knowledge for life. They take the aid of atrocious abstracts, shabbily compiled compendiums, ill-digested digests, and over-simplified made-easies and misleading guides, and ready-made spurious coaching courses, in order to make up for this deficiency of elementary quantity of information.

It is no doubt true that in the initial stages or even at the later stages an educational system may find it almost impossible to foot this big bill if the students do not make corresponding efforts. However, at least it can provide for condi-

tions in which the young generation can acquire access to means of contemporary sensibility. The minimum that can be done would be to provide the students with certain basic disciplines and tools, such as an eager alertness of mind, a deep relish of facts and data, a method of study to enable to sort and sift data, a temper of mind which will help him to absorb and assimilate new ideas and facts and to use them to enlarge his conceptions and boarden his assumptions, an undogmatic attitude, a respective and rational outlook, a flexibility of approach and all these—all these will equip him to cope up with the claims of the dynamic social situation created by the expansion of the frontiers of knowledge

technology

Technology is the next major instrument or agency which has been responsible for imparting the character of dynamism to our collective life. The media of mass communication such as radio, films, television and other means of communication create social psychic, and spatial mobility. More and more men can move in less and less time from one place to another. This mobility which is the first phase of a dynamic society leads to social mobility, due to which mote and more people can move from one strata of life to another, from one status level to another, without difficulty. The rate of inter-mixing and inter-societal contacts between and within groups and societies increases in frequency and tempo. Psychic mobility means that more people can now command greater skill in imagining themselves in strange situations, places, and times than in previous epochs.

This dynamism has a direction towards modernization which results in increasing urbanization, followed by increased literacy

and media exposure The increasing media exposure increases economic participation and political participation In short, traditional societies when they become dynamic change to participant societies which require new behavioural institutional compulsions

Mobile societies need to develop a mobile sensibility Normally it is difficult for a person to re-arrange his self-system in a short time "A mobile person is distinguished by a high capacity for identification with new aspects of its environment, he comes equipped with the mechanism needed to incorporate new demand upon himself that arise outside of his habitual experience " This capacity for quick adaptation is called empathy—"an inner mechanism which enable a man, a newly mobile persons to operate more efficiently in a changing world " It is a capacity to see oneself in other follows situation This ability to empathize makes all the differences for a newly mobile person A villager outside his village and a national outside his country comes across new people for a short period of time, he comes across new situations and has to forge new kind of relationships and has to learn ways and means of adapting to these new settings—where there are no known situations, no known people and no known customs

Whereas the isolated communities in traditional societies functioned on the basis of a constrictive personality, the independent sectors of modern society require open, widespread, and freer participation which in turn require a self-adaptive "self system ready to incorporate new roles and to identify personal values with public issues "

How can an educational system promote empathy ? To initiate a process by which it will produce open-minded citizens

capable of making rapid adaptation in changing environments and to the expanding horizons of adventure and knowledge. This is a tremendous job of reorganization in respect of the content of education and methods of education. The normal oral methods of teaching—the transmission of knowledge by mouth from books in a class room appears out-moded and inadequate. It cannot inculcate a world view or rather a cosmic view of life and to make men appreciate as naturally as they breathe the exciting variety and richness of human life and human heritage which goes on piling up and up and up and up every moment.

Extensive travels, intense use of audio visual aids (due to which the incumbent has not to pass through the long winding process of literacy and formal education) and more frequent exchange of students belonging to different parts of the country and the world will perhaps be useful.

Drama and theatre and similar cultural activities can promote empathy. Each person who participates in these performances learns to live new roles, impersonate new characters and to transport himself into new situations and to establish new relationships with others. All this generate imaginative understanding. Even the audience makes corresponding efforts to enjoy the performances by willing suspension of disbelief.

Thus the educational system tends to grow by including within its folds new goals and new methods which normally an orthodox system would have been considered outside its scope. The educative process tends to move more and more out of the class-room. The teacher as such ceases to be

the central figure in the educational system. He needs the assistance of many other devices and institutions.

new ideas and ideals

There is an earth-shaking potential energy in ideas. Liberalism, which accords a new dignity and importance to the individual, has become a great force in the modern world.

The acceptance of democratic ideals brings in the corresponding responsibility of bringing larger and larger number of people within the orbit of making and executing social decisions. In a participant society education must develop "critical self-awareness in the people. It must make them understand the goals of democracy.

The less dynamic or almost static societies who in the process of becoming dynamic are accepting democratic pattern of government and society are faced with the tremendously formidable task of education. The geography of illiteracy in these areas is heart breaking. There are about 700 million illiterate adults in the world and more than that number illiterate children below 15 years. To provide for the barest physical facilities such as buildings and furniture and equipment and teachers would cost millions. A dynamic society cannot afford the wasteful luxury of armament.

recognition. These new forces are bound to be released once a society accepts the principle of democracy

Further, democracy implies equality of opportunity for all. Extended to the sphere of education the principle would mean that all children and adults would have a right to education. In the words of Huxley, it means "to make a ladder from the gutter to the university along which any child may climb." Free tuitionship and an open invitation to the children to attend the schools is not all that is meant by this brave and bold statement. It implies abolition of all barriers to education, namely, lack of proper diet or adequate diet, absence of facilities to study at home, poor or inadequate medical aid, inability to procure books and stationary, poor clothings etc. If the principle of equal opportunities is conceded, then it is essential that all students have access to education under identical conditions and advantages and difficulties. No child should suffer from any social disability from which others are free. Thus the educational system in implementing the democratic ideal of equal opportunities for all is confronted not only with the problem of supplying the facilities directly relevant to the educational process, but it gets involved with a much bigger problem namely, of providing equal conditions of growth such as free lunch at school, study rooms in the schools for those children whose home conditions are not conducive to study, medical aid and similar other facilities which if not provided will place some students at a greater disadvantage than others who can make a better use the educational facilities.

There is one more factor which may interest students of this subject. One of the characteristics of modern dynamic society

is the reduction in the number of functions formerly performed by a family. In a dynamic society the emancipation of women effects the pattern and functions of family. The home has ceased to be the centre of family, the cradle of culture and 'the school of citizenship'. It is no longer the transmitter of social heritage, the traditions and ideals of the community. This process of disintegration of family effects the education pattern. The growth of nursery education is a direct result of this change. The modern nursery which is spreading slowly from its country of origin, England, was at first a product of the changing social conditions. Gradually several opportunities which the home previously gave to the child were introduced in the schools and the schools in some advanced countries began to perform many of the functions which the home and the family performed. In short, due to the disintegration of family, the schools have started performing the residuary functions. The function of the school is to impart knowledge as well as to serve as the transmitter and perpetuator of the traditions and the imaginative experience and ideals of the community whom it is intended to serve.

conclusion

The problems of educational reconstruction in a dynamic society are formidable. The social dynamics demand quick and effective transformation of the educational system. The dynamic society is like an adolescent whose limbs out-grow his dress in a very short time. Every adjustment to day has to be further modified in the future. However, it appears that it is attempting to adapt its methods and objects to the requirements of a dynamic society. In order to meet the growing need for collecting an infinite variety of information

to equip the minds of the young men with the quality of empathy to equip the young with the numerous skills required to survive in a dynamic society it has been accepted that the period of education must be prolonged. The period of infancy should be utilized for this purpose. The educational process has started exploiting all the senses of perceptions of a child—ear, eyes, sound and touch etc.—in the educative process. Knowledge is stuffed through all the senses of the child in the school. Educative process is no longer confined to the class room and its fixed hours. There is no distinction between work and play and process of learning. They teach even when the child thinks he is at play. His education continues even when he is being entertained. All play is lesson and all lesson is play. The educative process is continuous, uninterrupted and unimpeded. Every possible media of education has to be used in order to equip the young minds with proper tools, disciplines, and necessary quantum of information required for a young man to remain in tune with his times. Keeping some of the points mentioned above it is not difficult to assess the quality of the educational system in India. Indian society is once again becoming dynamic and it would be proper if in India people realize the significance and the responsibilities of having to live in a dynamic society.

RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIAN POLITY—A SARVODAYA APPROACH

It is a task of dedication, of creation, of self-discovery

—Jayprakash Narain

(1)

From 1946 to 1950 the Indian Constituent Assembly worked day in day out to forge a constitution for free India. It was a great event, in fact, a watershed separating two great epochs of Indian history—when India cast off her garb of ancient polity and embarked on her new career of democratic transformation.

It is hardly ten years when the Constitution was accepted as the fundamental law of the land, and now we hear voices expressing doubt and anxiety about the efficacy of the system of polity provided for in the Constitution.

The second thoughts on matters of such fundamental nature are ominous as well as welcome. They are symptomatic of the fact that something has gone awry with the political situation in the country. The state of party pattern, the prevalent corruption, the fall in the standards of public conduct, and the fate of democratic regimes in other countries of Asia have most probably created conditions for re-appraisal which has taken two forms.

There is on one hand a tendency to raise fundamental question as to whether the present polity in its entirety suits

the Indian conditions. There are others who while accepting the existing framework are concerned with the problem of improving the working of the system. Both these reactions have got crystallized and have taken definite form.

Excluding the extreme left-wing thinkers, the call for a radical change in the polity of India has come from sarvodaya leaders. And the call for and an attempt to improve the existing system has come from a set of political disaffectionists outside the rank of the ruling party led by one of India's most sagacious but enigmatic statesman C. Rajagopalachariar.

(ii)

Swatantra opposition

The emergence of the Swatantra Party is the consummation of a long process. It is the end product of certain historical forces and a reaction to the policies and the performances of the party in power. It assumes that every thing is alright with the Indian system as it exists today. The ills of Indian parliamentary system stem from the absence of effective opposition. It is held that if a stable opposition party gets going in this country all the present maladies and uncertainties of Indian political life will be eradicated.

Accordingly this party has been set afloat with a view to acting as a conservative opposition to the professedly radical socialist policies of the ruling party. Prior to Swatantra Party, the entire complexion of Indian politics excluding the communal parties have been primarily that of radicalism. All attempts to supply a second bull to the cart of democracy were made by of-the-centre radical parties particularly by the socialists. But in the ultimate impact, they remained only

pressure groups and did not grow into full-fledged opposition parties because the strategy of the ruling party was to take away the wind out of their sails by incorporating within its programmes all the radical elements of the programmes of the opposition parties, which thus became ineffective and helpless. The absence of ideological cleavage has been the cause as well as the consequence of the present state of party organization and pattern of Indian politics.

The Swatantra Party offers an opportunity of improving the situation. Its programme is distinctly different from that of the ruling party in its approach as well as emphasis. It is opposed to all kinds of encroachment of the state on individual freedom. It makes a plea for minimum state interference. It supports the idea of trusteeship and industrial expansion through private enterprise, with safeguards for labour and community and restriction of heavy industries to the state enterprises. It opposes excessive taxation, deficit financing, and foreign loans which cripple the tax payer and damp his initiative. It holds that the state socialism of Congress has led the country away from the principles of the constitution. It therefore makes a plea for the "restoration of constitution."

It is rather too premature at this stage to assess the political effectiveness of this party. However, the party itself is in dead earnest. Its slogan is "1962 or never." Its ideology finds ready response among the middle classes—salary-earners, doctors, lawyers, traders, shopkeepers in urban areas, and among the medium-sized and big peasant frightened by the prospects of land ceilings and cooperatives in rural areas. It has enrolled half a million members. The dictum of the party leader is that the harvest is there and it is for the party to

However with all its clarity of programme and its distinctiveness from that of the ruling party the party starts with a handicap in respect of the quality of its leadership which excluding a few comprises of persons whose record of public work will neither be very edifying to the persons themselves nor to the party whose cause they have espoused. And since Indian politics still centres round persons it may be easy for the Congress to use this steel to beat down Swatantra opposition. Moreover it does not sound very convincing to those who are deeply aware of the economic realities of Indian life as to how it is possible for a party to decide state action or planning for the economic development of an area where the purchasing power is low and where the entrepreneurial classes have not yet sprung up to prime the pump of economic growth. Under the compulsions of economic and other factors will it not follow the policies of Congress if it comes to power. Has the party not accepted the positive concept of state as it has emerged in recent decades?

All these are very relevant questions. The party will have to answer them and resolve some of its contradictions. Yet it has a very practical approach clear and easily communicable. It accepts that it would be unwise to waste the momentum of work acquired by the country during the last decade or so. It believes that it would be undesirable to change the directions and pattern of the political evolution of India in an entirely new direction. The attempt is in the nature of a reform and not a social revolution as contemplated by the leaders of the sarvodaya thought.

(iii)

sarvodaya solution

This school of thought suggests radical changes in the polity. They make a plea for a system which will be a 'scientific,' rational valid from the point of view of social sciences and in line with the natural course of social evolution. They purpose a system which will be in conformity with the social nature of man. All this by implications may mean that the present Indian polity is not as rational not as scientific not as much in conformity with the nature of man and in continuity with the Indian heritage. They formulate their political and social ideals according to a fundamental view of human nature and on the basis of historical data namely hidden founts of life eternal life.

fore man should re-order his social life to create institutions consistent with his social nature.

It is also asserted that a polity should be in conformity with the general ethical and spiritual goals of civilization which are inconsistent with the prevailing over-emphasis on expansion of material wants. An ideal democracy cannot co-exist with insatiable hunger of goods and an expansionist economic pattern. There is a conflict between more goods and more freedom. And our choice should be for freedom.

The present democratic arrangement is in reality "laocratic" i.e., an aggregate of human particles. India should have a more participant type of democracy than it has at present. It should provide more scope for voluntary action on the part of individuals. Moreover the problem of democracy being basically, and above all, a moral problem it is beyond the scope of the state to propagate it. Democracy is essentially an educative process. It is not mere ruling. It being a way of life, it must be treated as an independent value. The present pattern of democracy in India does not take into consideration this view of democracy.

And finally due to excessive industrialization and urbanization the present system is exposed to the evils of alienation and robotism. Man has ceased to be the centre of the civilization. There is a tendency towards megglomana. Human institutions must be reduced to human scale so that they may be capable of being managed by individuals.

Therefore, they make a plea for communitarian way of life, communitarian ethics and education and communitarian social political and economic organization. It means a self-govern-

ing self-sufficient, agro-industrial, urbo-rural, local communities. They advocate a party-less pattern of democracy. They think of a society in which there is least reliance on the political energy as means to the progress of a community. On the contrary, the society must manage its own affairs by its own energy, namely, the voluntary effort. The state effort should not become a substitute for the efforts of the people. It suggests non-political methods of tackling social and economic problems. This is a plea for a power-less state, a partyless democracy, and an economy based the principle of limited wants.

In concrete terms in the new polity, the highest political institution will be the General Assembly at the local community level. It will be called Gram-S-bha consisting of all adult members of the community. Its executive will be a Panchayat selected by general consensus. This Panchayat will function through its sub-committees charged with different responsibilities. This body will be responsible for food, education (upto primary level) medical care, clothing and shelter, wells, village tanks, and village industries.

The next level of political structure is the regional community. The Gram Panchayat will be integrated into these Panchayat Samitis. These Samitis will play a vital role in planning and development. These also will be the executive bodies functioning through committees.

The regional community is not a sum of smaller communities. It is an integral community in itself. At the regional level there is an integration of institutions and activities of the primary communities. For example the village panchayat get integrated into the regional panchayat, the village cooperative into the regional cooperative and primary school

into the higher school, and the village plan into regional plan. The primary units delegate their powers to the regional unit. The regional community will look after the techno-agriculture college, major irrigation projects, electricity, and manufacture of machines.

The regional communities will be integrated in the same manner into District Councils and will be of the same pattern as the primary unit. These district communities will federate into provincial community which in turn will come together in National Community which will attend to defence, foreign affairs, currency, inter provincial co-ordination and legislation.

These bodies will have to be recreated by a deliberate and bold process of devolution and decentralization

Each community, at its own level, will have powers to make rules and laws to manage its own affairs. At the provincial and national level there will be no ministers, chief ministers, or prime ministers. But government will be conducted by committees of the representative bodies. There will be paid civil servants who at their level will be appointed and dismissed by the corresponding authority created by representative body for that purpose.

Political parties by their mutual agreements will keep out of the primary, regional, and district elections

As regards the general elections, before the appropriate electoral college comes into existence, it will be the individual voter who will participate in the elections and parties should not set up candidates. Let the voters themselves set up candidates as it is done in Yugoslavia.

Suppose there are "n" booths in a constituency of 'm' number of voters. Let voters in each booth meet and elect "x" number of delegates from each booth and let all these delegates meet in a conference to nominate candidates who get say 25% votes. The delegate will campaign for nominated candidates.

The economy of the new polity will be in line with the fundamental principles underlying the political organisation. It will be an economy of conservation and limited wants. It will be a balanced economy, concerned with the future as well as the present. The economy of the community will be self-sufficient in respect of primary wants. Planning would begin from the primary community upwards. All natural resources would belong to the community. The position of the worker will be central in the community.

The pattern of these communities will be agro-industrial, neither agricultural nor industrial. The economic institutions will be either private or co-operative or communal type. They will be confined to primary or regional or district communities. There will be few provincial institutions and still fewer national institutions. The greater part of commerce and trade will be owner-worker type. The rest will be cooperative or communal. Every economic institution will be integrated into the territory to which it belongs. In each communal area the business and industry will be organised in an association which will be federated into an Economic Council which will advise the corresponding political body in that area.

(iv)

a critique of the sarvodya approach

The scheme embodies a philosophy of anxiety and it is expressive of a deep concern for the predicament of modern civilization in general and Indian situation in particular. In course of a search for a suitable pattern for India it touches upon certain very admirable and very basic concepts which are in conformity with the findings of modern sociologists who too have come to a similar conclusion that the problem of present day civilization is the problem of social integration and the issue involved is how to recreate human community and how to restore the human factor in our social calculus. It is also a vindication of the fact that in solving human problems it is always necessary to take a whole view.

The entire motive behind the scheme is an anxious concern for the future of India and to save it from some the bitter experiences of western societies arising out of the atomization and fragmentation of society and alienation and robotism of individuals. It is a farsighted plan for the reconstruction of Indian society in such a manner that in the long run it may be spared of these troubles. It is a very bold attempt to reconstruct society on humanistic principles. It supports the views of Italian communarians and asserts that the answer to all these problems is the establishment of a communitarian society.

Basically and logically its assumptions and objectives are correct. Who would not like to see the Kingdom of love established on the globe. Who would not like to abolish the

irksome procedures of law ? Who would not approve of the principle of harmony and concord ? It is not difficult to agree with the fundamentals as well as the details of the scheme provided one is in spiritual harmony with some of their basic attitudes about life and its fundamental values. These fundamental values implies a belief in the essentially spiritual character of man and a belief in the ethical view of social life, and a belief in essential unity of universe. And if once there is disagreement with these fundamental then there are no limits to which you can find fault with the scheme.

Moreover, the universal acceptance of the scheme in India depend upon these and many other factors. To-day the most decisive and over-riding factor which determines the success of an idea and its programme is the prevailing climate of opinion, which if ignored will lead to the rejection of the new ideal no matter its merit.

For example, consider the proposal for the establishment of an economy of limited wants and an economy of conservation. In the light of the experience of advanced countries regarding the depletion of irreplaceable raw material by reckless industrialization, it may be possible to see the wisdom of the emphasis on economy of limited wants and to support the policy of an economy of conservation. However, it is very difficult for a people whose thinking over the last few decades have been conditioned in favour of the concept of "higher standard of living". The Indian elite as well as masses have come to believe in industrialization as an unfailing method for realizing this end. The "revolution of rising expectation" has deeply touched the mind of India. For Indians it has

Moreover, how will such a powerless community survive as a national unit, because a power-vacuum anywhere is an invitation to aggression and imperialism. Can India think of such a polity in the light of recent experience with China.

Internally, a power vacuum is also an invitation to dictatorship. A party-less democracy which is implicit in the notion of a power-less state is difficult of realization because, in the first instance the ideal of partyless politics itself will require a party for its propagation. Moreover, the dissolution of parties will create conditions in which forces of totalitarianism will begin to function freely. Further it is difficult to conceive of a completely neutralized citizenry untouched by the appeals or the seductions of power. On the contrary there will always remain a number of clever go-getters and manipulators who cannot but play instinctively the game of power politics.

In fact the basic concept of sarvodaya scheme rests on a higher estimate of human nature. It presumes that all men are far sighted; that they will decide in favour of the gains of the future as against the immediate advantages, that they will prefer spiritual satisfaction to material enjoyment, that they will play the social game according to the rule, that they will be immune to the charm of power.

The scheme which claims to be scientific suffers from cult-thinking. First, there is the cult of localism. It romanticize and over emphasises the guillessness of local politics—as if these communities are insulated gardens of Eden untouched by power and corrupting influence of power. It presumes that idiocy is the sole monopoly of cities. In fact

rialism are too remote for an average Indian to comprehend. He cannot feel its immediacy. For him the key to a new order lies in industrialization, whatever its long-term results in terms of dehumanization.

The whole scheme is an essay in Gandhian constitution making. Its elaboration is its weak as well as its strong point. For once the Gandhian thought has come down to the earth and mingled with the dust and mire of concrete reality. But still it savours of utopianism. It does not consider what can be done within the frame work of the possible. The Swatantra formula accepts this second alternative and is an attempt to improve the situation in India without resorting to fundamental changes. In this respect it stands more chances of success. However, it has yet to be seen which of these two methods bear fruit. But as Jayprakash Narayan has said this task of reconstruction is a task of dedication, creation and self discovery, any thing may serve if it is taken up with a spirit of dedication, in fact even the present system.

SOCIALISM IN INDIA—RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

asia is big with the dream of utopianism

—*Asoka Mehta*

(1)

“Socialism is a lost cause in Europe. It is bound to be so everywhere.” Since M. N. Roy, one of the ablest theoreticians of modern Indian political thought uttered these almost prophetic words in 1953 after his return from Rangoon where the socialist parties of Asia had met to formulate a programme, socialism in Asia has seen several vicissitudes of fortune. And now it appears that like democracy socialism in this part of the world, is also under a dark cloud.

The Indonesian Socialist Party under Sultan Sjahrir has shrunk into a clique, the Socialist Party in Burma under U Ba Swe and Kyaw Nyein has become a reactionary force; in Ceylon social democracy under late Bandaranaike made several concessions to the vested interest. And in India also inspite of the fact that the official and the declared policy of the ruling party is to establish socialist pattern of society, it is in a very anomalous state. Like a socialism in other European countries where the spectre of revisionism looms large, in India scientific, socialism runs the grave risk of losing its distinct identity and uniqueness.

At present there are in the main four variations of socialism in India. There is the socialism of Congress led by Nehru. It is a mixture of Fabianism, Gandhism and Russian Planning. It emphasizes the economic aspect of socialism. It is pragmatic and non doctrinaire. Its accent is on attainment of positive goals: the raising of the living standard, the enlargement of opportunities of all, the promotion of enterprise among the disadvantaged classes and creation of a sense of partnership among all sections of the community.

In India today this is the dominant version of socialism of which the Second Five Year Plan is a concretized expression. However it tends more to become statism and state capitalism. It is more a working hypothesis and a slogan to take the wind out of the sails of socialist opposition. In practice it is conservative in some respects.

The main stream of socialist thought is represented by the various socialist groups such as Praja Socialist Party, All India Socialist Party, The United Socialist Party, The Revolutionary Socialist Party and other splinter groups. All the first three of these are a queer mixture of Marx, Owen, communitarians, Gandhism, Mumford and Buber. It is still unformulated in respect of its fundamentals considered in the context of Indian situation. It is more an influence than a power. It is not a political force to be reckoned with. This variant of socialism in India is not an independent well organized political and social force. At best these parties act like pressure groups outside and inside Congress which also professes socialism. It is only agitational in character.

Gandhian socialism is based on Indian tradition of political and economic decentralization and has much in common with the approach of continental communitarianism. It exercises moral influence.

Finally there is the extreme revolutionary socialist tradition represented by the Communist Party of India. Even this party is apparently taking to constitutionalism and peaceful methods. Consequently the difference between democratic socialism and communism has been further narrowed down to the advantage of the communists and to the disadvantage of socialists. It is an endemic threat to democratic socialism.

Obviously socialist thought in India strands divided. But this situation is worsened by the fact not a single faction (excluding the extreme left-wing socialists) has its ideological formulations in some conformity with the following generally accepted elements of socialist thought as given in the Encyclopedia of Labour Movement: Class struggle, self government in industry, collective control of society, capture of state power of the workers and a working class movement and doctrine are the five main elements of socialism. None of these four variants of Indian socialism except C.P. think strictly in terms of these elements. At least Gandhian socialism and Congress Socialism do not emphasise class struggle, the programme of the capture of the state by the workers and complete collective control of means of production.

This is one of the many enigmatic features of Indian political and social life that with a comparatively good traditions

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elements of socialist thought

Socialist thought has two facets. The first, its more baroque aspect (a more intelligible and popular notion) has a great emotional appeal. The second, the more roco type, is intellectual, doctrinaire and rational.

At the emotional plane and in respect of its baroque aspect the word socialism is at once suggestive of an incandescent view of a new civilization—stateless and classless—free from coercion and conflict. It inspires in the believers a vision of a society uncontaminated by the degrading touch of inequality and injustice. Its overtones awaken new hopes, quickens fresh desires and conjures in their minds a scintillating picture of an Eldorado of harmony and peace.

However, no sooner do we leave the penumbra of its luminous associations and move towards its opaque core, thus many a splendoured thing loses its brilliance and there we see hard designs and forms of socialist thought, doctrines and theories.

Traditionally socialist thought gets divided into two schools: utopian socialists and the scientific socialists. The Utopian Socialists were Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, Owen, Proudhon, Gandhi, Blanc, Buber and Bhavo, and the scientific socialism comprises the teachings of Marx, Engel

of radical ideas and an influential set of leaders (from Dada Bhai Naoroj to Nehru and many others like Jayprakash Narayan and Asoka Mehta etc) scientific socialism has not been able to strike deep roots in India over the last few decades

This situation cannot be adequately explained by such minor factors as limited funds certain organizational weaknesses superior political strategy of other parties and shortage of workers etc These are consequences of its weakness, rather than the causes It also cannot be easily explained by referring to the dissensions between various socialist parties and within them For this purpose it would be necessary to understand the original version of the western socialist thought and to see how like western technology how the original socialist ideas confronted with an entirely new set of social economical and cultural factors in India made painful attempts to modify itself according to the new conditions and how in course of its adjustment it acquired its existing forms and patterns

As culture never travels in parts (of course there may be diffusion & assimilation of a few elements) were there two ways open to it Either to create in India the original circumstances in which it had been born or to get adapted to the overpowering influence of the culture of the country which it invades It would be fascinating to see how socialism or a culture-ray of western socialism behaved when it penetrated the prism of the Indian body politic

(ii)

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The utopians were gifted with a vision and had an intuitive grasp of the various aspects of the "social question".

They have been called "poets of socialism". They stressed moral examples as the road to better world. They thought poorly of politics and political methods. In their thoughts ethical element is dominant. They were anti-industrial and agrarian-minded.

Utopianism is fundamentally a quest for the community. Utopians believed "that discipline and delight of association can come through man's immersion into his local, regional commune, his work, trade commune, and other voluntary associations, village communes with their mesh of agricultural, and handicrafts-cum-industrial activities, cooperatively owned and worked, and such communes, endlessly proliferated and federally associated—this is the vision of the utopians."

Scientific socialists drew their conclusions from an industrial social milieu in Britian, Germany, and France. Scientific socialists believed in laws of historical development rather than moral persuasion. They believed in the efficacy of political method and in exploiting the energies of the state for furthering social ideal. They believed in the theory of class struggle and conflict. They believed in crisis and catastrophe which lead to war and which in turn create conditions for social revolution.

Scientific socialism rejects the methods of reform and is an exponent of collective approach. It thinks in terms of collective groups of people—trade unions, parties, and organizations. The individual gets absorbed in the group. It believes in compulsion and pressure.

(iii)

socialism in india

The general appeal of socialism in India is undeniable. The conditions in India were favourable for it. Socialist thought could have capitalised on this asset.

Naturally in a country devastated and disfigured by yawning inequalities of birth, income, and status, and in a country where poverty is a rule rather than an exception, this aspect of socialism is bound to invoke in the heart of the people a deep and lasting response. No party can ever think of supporting the "status quo" and stand for its perpetuation. The passion for equality and social justice is the heritage of Indian national movement. Indians fought for freedom for the sake of a higher social end. Gandhi and Nehru and others taught the masses to think in terms of an egalitarian order. The influence of Russia and China in this respect is not inconsiderable. Consequently, it has become a national ideal above party politics. It has become a value which stands enshrined in the constitution in form of the Directive Principles of State Policy.

Any party which is also wedded to democratic values will not and should not find any difficulty in winning the support of the people. And India to the extent it believes in social and political and economic justice is socialist, and the socialist parties reflect this popular mood and ideal.

India's first taste of socialism or its first encounter with socialism begins after the war in 1914. (Although in the writing

of earlier Indian political thinkers there are certain ingredients of socialism *e.g.* Dadu Bhai Noroji, Bipin Chander Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and a set of terrorists in the first decade of twentieth century). This contact began with the process of infiltration of scientific socialism as preached by Marx and as practiced by Lenin. There is evidence to show that a number of Indian revolutionaries greeted the birth of Soviet Russia in 1917 and sent greetings to Lenin who reciprocated. The first major organized attempt to promote socialism in India was the establishment of the Communist Party of India in 1924. A large number of terrorists subscribed to revolutionary socialism. Even the Congress Socialist Party was led by confirmed Marxian socialists like Jayprakash Narayan and Acharya Narendra Dev. Even Nehru was not immune from the fascination of Marx.

Starting with purely Marxian revolutionary socialist tradition Indian socialism has pursued a very tortuous line of development in an attempt to adapt its original postulates and elements to the new environment. We shall consider how nationalism, agrarian and peasant economy, tradition, village communities, and tactical factors of socialist movement influenced the growth of socialism in India.

indian social and cultural milieu

In nineteenth century fundamental social, economic, and political changes took place in Europe as a result of French Revolution and Industrial Revolution. The entire European civilization was in a flux. Out of this ferment emerged the

formulations of scientific socialism Originally scientific socialism was cosmopolitan Marx had exhorted the workers of the world to unite It was born in conditions created by industrial capitalism, it was based on the materialistic values It had as its term of reference an urban or an urbanizing society It developed in free sovereign states It accepted the basic antagonism between man and Nature because in the west the entire basis of thought is the bifurcation between man and his natural surroundings It takes as axiomatic the values of conflict and competition and exploitation

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However, in India it had to reckon with an entirely different milieu India was rural and feudal Indian social structure was stratified Indian society had not seen the fragmentation atomization of its essentially communitarian social pattern It was not so deeply polarized into classes—the proletariat and the capitalist India did not fully subscribe to the gross materialistic values in so far as it did not subscribe fully to Marxian emphasis on the primacy of matter Indian culture has an intuitive appreciation of the state of harmony that exists at the heart of creation It believes that nature and man are not in conflict with each other 'There is a covenant between Man and Nature It believes that all development was based on this asset and the human order is not divorced from the natural order' Consequently, the notion of antagonism, violence, and conflict which is implicit in western scientific socialism is rather alien to Indian attitudes to social question

Except for communists no nationalism socialist group could have resisted the call of nationalism. Neither Congress Socialist Party nor Congress could bargain national freedom for ideology. As a grand coalition of various nationalist forces irrespective of positive ideological affiliations on questions of social and economic reconstruction Congress could not have by virtue of its composition accepted the full-blooded radical socialist programme and thus reduce itself to a party. For it socialism was secondary. At that time national unity was more essential than ideological conformity. Similarly, the Congress Socialist Party had to pay the price of nationalism in terms of organizational weaknesses. The national struggle left the party little time to attend to the task of formulation and propagation of socialist ideals. In fact when the socialist leaders were put in jails on account of their anti-imperialist agitation the extreme left wing Communist Party consolidated its position and built its cadre of workers and organization (Hari Krishan Singh). Whatever be the justification of the CSP to remain as a pressure group within Congress ultimately it turned out to be injurious to the socialist cause. Having started as a group within Congress which comprised of several elements namely, landlords, aristocrats, peasants, middle classes, and workers it could not acquire a distinct class-orientation and its association with Congress implied an ideological compromise on the question of class struggle, and collective control.

Scientific socialism is a doctrine of industrial society. Industrial society is primarily mobile, competitive and non-contemplative. It drew its conclusions from the industrial conditions. It considered proletariat as the carrier of

socialism But in India socialist thought was confronted with the problems of an agrarian community whose customs mores and urges were so different from that of the proletariat Agrarian values are characterized by contemplative attributes stability, and 'poise' The proverbial wantlessness contemplation and inwardness are the outstanding feature of an agrarian society Marx himself did not have a very high opinion about the revolutionary capacity of the peasant Naturally in course of time the socialist ideas were bound to be effected by these conditions Congress Socialism has to reckon with these set of circumstances While the peasant is a neglected subject in socialism of the west it could not ignore the peasantry in India In India the relation between socialism and the peasant is very crucial

There was one more characteristic of the agrarian situation in India Indian rural communities are well knit India is permeated with a sense of the community The communitarian spirit is a unique feature of an Indian village There is more social solidarity there than in the cities Scientific socialism was wont to dealing with an alienated and emancipated individual and atomised societies in the west The doctrine of class struggle which serves its purpose in such societies hits at the roots of the social cohesiveness which is the basic character of Indian village The organic and interdependent nature of the village was bound to be disrupted by the introduction of the idea of class conflict or the party conflict It was bound to hinder the promotion of the community sense Thus the theory of class struggle of the scientific socialism did not suit Indian conditions The socialist thought in India had

to reckon with this fact and change its bias in favour of utopian socialism which favours a wholistic approach

The very composition of the leadership of the Congress Socialist Party was not homogeneous. The Nasik group which was drawn from the westernized middle classes was representative of three major ingredients of political ideas then current in India. Jayprakash Narayan was an uncompromising Marxist. Patwardhan represented the Gandhian strand as opposed to Narayan. Patwardhan's upbringing as a theosophist may have strengthened his Gandhian lilt of thought. Asoka Mehta the arch theoretician of the Party represented element of social democracy. He was deeply influenced by the European utopian thinkers. This fascination for utopianism links him with Gandhi's sarvodaya which also like the utopians is anti-industrialist and deeply enamoured of the agrarian bias. Acharya Narendra Dev was the exponent of Marxism.

In view of this mixed quality of leadership consisting of those influenced by Gandhi, social democrats and Marxists the main stream of socialist thought as represented by CSP or the Socialist Party or the PSP have never been able to make "a satisfying synthesis of the three incompatible ingredients of Gandhi-ism, social democracy and Marxism" (Hari Krishan Singh). And now we see that this body of socialist thought has almost been swallowed by the Gandhian utopia-

under the pressure of Indian tradition, and the prevailing economic and cultural factors.

Finally, "the socialists have been their own enemies". In the first instances they started with many handicaps. They were divided. It lacked political realism in so far as they could not discuss their differences in camera. They suffered from disastrous disasensions from 1952 onwards. Even earlier similar disagreements and indiscipline has been common feature of PSP politics.

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conclusion

Thus scientific socialism has been subject to several pressures due to which it could not retain its original form and content in India. It gradually moved away from its original postulates. In so far as the main stream of socialist thought (PSP, SP, RSP etc) is concerned it has moved toward utopian socialism, which has great relevance for India in view of its peasant economy, its setting, its harmonious view of life and nature, and its communitarian social organization.

As regards Congress socialism it has also ceased to be in line with the original socialist tradition which accepted total galloping nationalization as a penneca to the social questions of re-distribution of wealth. Congress believes in discriminating socialization and in tapping the productive resources of the free sectors of economy. In fact this kind of mixed economy is being accepted by several European socialist parties, who the light of recent social and economic changes are re-defining

socialism in terms other than the public ownership of all means of production. The Dutch, Swedish, Swiss and even Austrian socialist parties in recent years have reviewed their policies and modified them and redefined them in ethical terms and restated their views on total nationalization. They accept private enterprise.

Here is a very interesting situation. One variety of socialism in India is tending towards utopianism—which as pointed earlier is a search of community, it is agrarian in bias and it is humanistic in emphasis. However correct its emphasis, utopian socialism it is still vague, idealistic, and anomalous. Except for its poetic generalizations, it has not been able to state a concrete programme of action and it has yet to evolve its specific modes, instruments and agencies of action. It will continue for some time to interest groups of intellectuals who would debate and discuss it in cloistered study circles and seminars. It is still a philosophy of interpretation. This philosophy has yet to develop itself into an art—the art of changing and recreating society in the image of the original ideal.

Therefore Congress socialism has the comparative advantages of being practical, communicable, concrete and specific. It has its agencies and instruments of action, however imperfect and illogical. Therefore, it has a better chance. Whether it is socialism or not, at least the people have a word—a magic word—to define their social aspirations, to satisfy their sense of idealism to give them the pride of being progressive. But the question is—how long can a nation stand duped by the mythopoeic quality of slogans.

As opposed to both these two, there is the extreme left-wing socialism of the Communist Party of India, which has not so far compromised on the essential elements of socialism stated above. In terms of organization comparative clarity and cadre of workers and programme it scores a point over the other two. But it suffers from other serious defects which makes it unacceptable to the large masses of India. Its popularity is tagged to extrinsic factors. However, it should become acceptable now that it has accepted constitutionalism. How anomalous and tentative is the state of socialism in India. The word has the capacity to inspire, unite, and drive people to work. But the organizations wedded to socialism in India are circumscribed by their own inherent capacities to work and to effect a synthesis and integration of their ideas, and programmes with the reality of India.

Note Also read 'New Dimensions of Socialism in Unorthodox Essays

says that civilization is the process of urbanization. With the passage of time more and more people took to the values of city life or migrated to cities and towns on account of the pull of the vaster opportunities of growth and due to the push of the rather ineluctable hard conditions of subsistence in the rural areas. Weber also believes that city was a deliberate creation of man in an attempt towards self-expression. He believes that the origin of the city is functional. It lies in the search for environmental conveniences and so long as inequalities of conveniences between different places last, cities will arise and exist. Giers has differentiated five stages of civilization when considered from the point of view of the relation between economic development and the habitation pattern. The first is the form of habitation at the level of collectional economy, second is the form of habitation at the stage of the nomadic economy, the third at the level of settled village economy, fourth at town economy and the fifth at metropolitan economy. Urbanization is therefore obviously related to the level of technology or the economic development. The higher the economic advance, the greater the urbanization.

Cities as agglomeration of large number of people did not appear until after 3000 B.C. Though metropolises of a million inhabitants existed in China prior to Greco-Roman period, the process of rapid urbanization as a world-wide phenomenon became very marked since the time man started making conscious efforts in transforming the world he lives. With the acceleration of the industrial revolution since 1800, while the population of the world increased by 2.50 times, the population resident in cities of five thousand or more persons multiplied 30 times and the population resident in 100

thousand or more increased by 20 times During the 19th century the increase in large cities was more rapid In 1950 35 per cent of the population in Europe lived in cities of 20 000 inhabitants in Oceania 47 percent 42 percent in North American and in USSR 31 per cent In Asia it is 13 % but in a few years it will be greatly accelerated Asian societies are over urbanized

(u)

forces at work

This process of urbanization in recent times has acquired a new character on account of rapid advance in the means of transportation and communication which abridge social psychic and spatial distances between people living in rural and urban areas which prior to these inventions and innovations were cut off from each other by unpassable barriers of geography and long distances Technological developments have brought into point-blank proximity these patterns of cultures namely the little tradition of rural areas and the great tradition of the urban areas It appears that as an inevitable concomitant of the advancement of civilization urbanism as a way of life must spread more rapidly not only to the hinterland of the metropolitan centres but through out the nation and the differences between urban and rural must steadily diminish (Ecafe Report on Urbanization in Asia and the Far East 1957)

The vectors of urban life-ways enter the rural communities like a trojan horse in the form of a radio a television set a movie a news paper or a new gadget a new machine or an individual who operates between the town and village In other words in addition to the tendency that the villagers

move into the anonymity of the cities now the city moves in and starts upsetting the essentially communitarian age old set up of the rural communities. These urban values are destructive of the pattern of the integrated corporate life of the rural community and family which languish as a centre of work enjoyment and experience in common of the creation of the typical group (Madiraga). There is a lack of the meaningful and structuralized life (Durlheim). Society becomes disorganized dust and thus the corporative rural pattern of life ends up in communal and social disintegration. Consequently the relations between individuals tend to become impersonal and utilitarian. A process of economic differentiation sets in and people tend to be separated from each other and the intimate ties of family kinship and neighbourhood get broken up.

This atomized pattern does not conform to the basic nature of man who is not merely an individual as such but he is an individual in society. An individual needs a social unit of such suitable size (neither too small nor too big) as to admit of free self expression and social participation. Rural development means reformulation of the values and life in rural areas in order to re create a social order which will be in conformity with the basic nature of man in which there is participation sharing identity of interest freedom with social responsibility differentiation or functions converging on one end and in which there is in essential things unity and in doubt freedom in all things tolerance (Olivetti).

It is true that the kind of corporate life which prevailed naturally in these areas before the

processes cannot be revived. It is not possible and even if it is possible, it is not desirable. But it is imperative to give a new orientation to their pattern of life. It is essential to activate or energize the debilitated conditions of life in rural areas because the advancing industrial development have created for them new responsibilities and cares. The rural areas are bound to play a very vital part in the modern world however much it is inclined towards urbanization. More and more of the people in the world depend on less and less number of people in rural areas for their food supply. More and more industrialization involves greater and greater quantities of raw material. Higher and higher standard of living means more and more diversification of human needs and therefore production of more and more quantities of goods for an increasing population. This involves more and more rural production. The rural population has not only to produce for its own growing needs but also for the needs of urban population and its industrial and military needs.

Being so deeply integrated into the dynamic sector of the urban part of our civilization or having been closely yoked to a very fast sprinter such as the urban societies are the rural areas must learn to move fast in order to be able to perform the new responsibilities.

Moreover, rapid development involves a reckless and speedy exploitation of natural resources. There is the continuous scooping of the bowls of the earth, the continuous deprivation of the surface of the earth of its protective skin of the soil.

It involves clearance of new lands, deforestation intensive cultivation exploitation of minerals mines, water and land It involves depletion of irreplaceable materials All this upsets the delicate balance of nature and brings in its wake a nemesis, of which one of the most devastating form is the erosion of soil The skin of the earth is subject to successive blows And if the process of erosion goes unchecked civilization may ends itself in a desert In USA about 4000 0000 dollars are spent on the question of soil erosion In China vast territories have been victimized, and they have become useless expanses of dust and rock Europe also is beginning to know the consequences of deforestation—30% of the land in the vicinity of Hanover was carried off by the wind to such an extent that roads were covered by 15 inches of layer of dust, humus, and sand

Thus people are to day faced with two titanic problems The erosion of society in rural areas and continuous depletion of land resources leading to soil erosion and its accompanying risks Conservation of both of these is the crying need Otherwise modern man will kill the goose that lays the golden eggs Rural areas and the worlds land and other resources must be protected and conserved wisely Since urbanization is an irreversible process and it is inevitable it becomes all the more urgent that man takes adequate steps to husband the available resources

Rural development is a world wide movement which aims at checking this two fold erosion, namely, erosion of society and erosion of land resources in rural areas It is a search for

a new principle of organizing the life in rural areas in order to meet the challenge of urbanization and the problems of increased production it brings in its wake. It is essentially a quest for a communitarian pattern in harmony with modern technical and economic values.

The community or the communitarian order based on bonds of kinship or caste or sect or birth or any other traditional element cannot be revived. It must take into cognisance the new emphasis on individual freedom and individuality. It is no longer possible to create institutions and social patterns in which there is the remotest likelihood of the individual being absorbed. The freed individual abhors all irritating checks and restrictions. He claims participation in the entire social process. This assertion of individual's right to participation does not imply that he claims absolute immunity from legitimate social control. He is willing to be controlled for the sake of the enlargement of his own freedom and that of the community at large.

The rediscovery of the group as an autonomous unit is one of most revolutionizing events in political theory and sociology. Groups have personality and therefore rights and duties.

The democratic process has evolved three major agencies: the community development, cooperative movement, and democratic decentralization. We shall discuss in the following pages the value of the first two. The issue of democratic decentralization is associated more pertinently with political reorganization.

community development

Community means a local system of social interaction in which the behaviour of individual, is controlled and in which they participate. 'Community is organic in structure, limited in end and concrete in context'. And development means spontaneous, purposive conscious action spread over a period of time. It involves constant interaction of the individual and the community which cannot have re birth if the individual remains unborn. Community development is a multi-processed activity at the ethical, social, material as well as individual plane. Self help is inherent in this mode of social action.

This manner and philosophy of social action is a very popular tool in the hands of the democratic governments to initiate social change in the otherwise stagnating and almost static rural communities which were being constantly eroded by a complex of forces—e.g. contact with western culture, substitution of individual interest for old caste or tribal or sectarian loyalties, money economy, industrialization etc.

Community development is village organization and all of the technique as to how people are brought together, how they are democratically organized, how to get the individual villager take part in it, how to get discussion and thinking started, how people get the things they think they need, how they judge the priority of things they want. It is a kind of social action in which people of a community organize themselves for planning and action. In these programmes the emphasis is on the community rather on the village aspect of

the development whatever the interest of the people—as craftsman or as shopkeeper—whatever be the intimate circle of their association—a family or a caste or sect—progress in community development entails a widening of the community of interest and feeling

co operation

If community development movement is intended to re-suscitate the community in a modern form then cooperation is a device to facilitate the task of technical social and economic progress in rural areas. Cooperative movement is just the correct regimen of self help and selfishness. It can provide the necessary schooling in democracy. Through the instrumentality of cooperatives technical knowledge technical information about new scientific discoveries new knowledge about soil plants animals diseases and of machines and tools can be spread in rural areas. They also promote economic progress which means how best to combine resources in a given locality so as to satisfy as far as possible the complex and changing demand of society.

The task of agricultural improvement in rural areas is urgent. As pointed earlier farmers working single-handed can not undertake the new responsibilities which growing industrialization and urbanization brings in its wake. The farmers must pool up their resources and skills and work in union with others. Moreover agricultural progress which depends upon a suitable land tenure system knowledge of practical technical skills and improvement reduction in cost

of credit reduction in costs of goods and services for production and consumption spreading of risks and uncertainties and their minimization improvement of health of rural people and education and vocational training cannot be initiated by the solitary efforts of individuals. These tasks can only be fulfilled by cooperative united action. As institutions for promoting technical and economic and social progress cooperatives have shown their utility in a variety of ways of circumstances. They have helped to improve security of tenure, consolidate holdings, conservation of natural resources, facilitate land settlement, foster growth of technical knowledge, secure saving, administer credit, and improve marketing etc.

Cooperative society is a democratic association which is actually owned and controlled by the members. The surplus of the income over expenditure is distributed in proportion to the patronage of various members. Its membership is voluntary. Not only is the entry not forced but even the exit is not barred. From the social point of view the most significant feature of the cooperative is that persons voluntarily associate themselves as human beings on the basis of equality for the promotion of economic interests. In this form of group action personal integrity and skills are not submerged. Capital is a contended servant and not a master. It is neither class bound nor state-bound. In this associative activity mutuality and ethical dealings are kept in mind. From the point of view of the economic action cooperatives secure for their members various kinds of services at low cost. They are not acquisitive units. These cooperatives also serve a social purpose in so far as they provide education

in democracy, responsibility, tolerance, training for political power, family spirit, encourage general rather than particular advance, and ensure united and constructive approach to common questions.

The educational effects of cooperatives are two-fold. Firstly, it helps in the development of individuals. It is real education. It frees the individual from users and profiteers and also from themselves and bad habits. It teaches them virtues which normally are not natural to them, that is, orderliness, foresight, punctuality, and dignity. It initiates individuals to the task of establishing new morality.

Secondly, as stated above, it helps in the evolution of democratic attributes. It can save people from disorder or autocracy. The cooperative principle "of exact compliance with rules, obedience to orders of an elected authority are the foundations of self-government.

• Both these, the community development and the cooperative movement are now a world—wide movement. Wherever democratic values are honoured, these two movements will find acceptance. In less developed areas they are bound to face some hinderances. However, as there is no other alternative except autocracy and anarchy, relentless efforts should be made to overcome these institutional, psychological, and social hurdles endemic in these countries. In these movements lie their hope of building a new communitarian order which will be able to withstand the corrosion implicit in advancing urbanization. If seen in this perspective much of the petty clinical criticism levelled against these movements will appear ridiculous. The significance of great historical events cannot be comprehended by pygmy measures.'

RURAL PROGRESS (11)—AN ESSAY IN COMMUNAL DYNAMICS IN INDIA

india lives in her villages

—Gandhi

(1)

In India also the process of rural degeneration has been going on for several centuries. During British regime several ad hoc attempts were made by well meaning officials like Bryne Darling hundreds of self sacrificing constructive workers under the leadership of Gandhi and a number of dedicated missionaries. If the work of the first set of workers was weak in conception and execution the work of the second group had a moral bias and that of the third set of worker was coloured by non economic considerations.

After 1947 a fundamental policy was formulated to solve this problem. At present the programme of rural development in India is being conducted through three major agencies namely the community development movement the co-operative movement and democratic decentralization. We will consider the first two in this essay.

community development

Much has been said about the revolutionary character of this movement. The essential ideas on which the movement was based are of lasting merit. It began as a unique programme with a tremendous fanfare and rituals. But the movement has not struck deep roots and it has not evoked continuing response from the community for whose welfare it was so magnificently launched.

This programme, which has been charged with high destiny has been reviewed and re-reviewed several times by several official and parliamentary evaluation committees, of which the most significant was Balwantrai Mehta Committee in 1957 which suggested certain far-reaching measures in the light of which the community development programme was revised in April 1958. As this Committee found the tempo of the programmes very fast the government at its suggestions agreed that instead of having the whole country covered by the community blocks by the end of the Second Five Year Plan in 1961, the target date may be extended to October 1963.

It is more than one year when the entire programme was overhauled and reviewed in the light of the Balwantrai Mehta Committee Report. But the Report of the Seventh Evaluation Committee of the Programme Evaluation Committee in June 1960 has again shown that in none of the spheres there has been any outstanding achievement. "There are lights and shades in the picture of the Community Development Programme in actual operation. The shades predominate and one gathers the impression of an inadequately co-ordinated endeavour, governmental rather than popular in character, and sustained more by hope than achievement."

From the point of view of the value of these programmes to revive the community spirit, it appears that little headway has been made. Although the contribution of the people when taken cumulatively is mounting, it shows a progressive deterioration year by year. The community is still apathetic. The possibilities of making use of the teacher and the school as the means of harnessing the co-operation of the community properly exploited.

The amount of people's participation may be measured by the participation of the people through village institutions such as panchayats or their contribution in terms of labour material, and cash or any evidence of the change of the attitude among the villagers and their expectations of the future. The panchayats are dominated either by the high-caste or high-income groups or the landlords. The harijans seldom participate. Again these panchayats are also dominated by higher age groups. It has been estimated that only 11 percent of the members of the panchayats were under 25 years and 38.9 between 25 and 40 years. But the saving factor in the situation is that the villagers are still inclined favourably towards the panchayat which is accepted as a representative body. As regards the voluntary contributions "this element has lost much of its original appeal".

This unsatisfactory state of one of the most significant of India's endeavours is not due to the basic quality of the project. The defect lies in the approach to these programmes. The political and party considerations have been responsible for some of the defects in these programmes which have become mere show windows to impress foreigners and to catch votes. Too much is being attempted in one grasp although it is undeniable that the situation is very desperate and needs immediate redress.

It is no use blaming the government for this. It is in the very nature of these programmes to fail in the hands of the government which by virtue of its own nature can not carry out such programmes for ever. It can initiate these projects and can provide financial assistance and technical aid. But

the manner in which and the extent to which the community responds and accepts responsibility also determines the success of these programmes

The defect also lies in the inability of the village leadership and its corporate community spirit to make the village a better place. Village leadership will be strengthened if the flight of the educated to the towns can be checked. They should be in some way or other retained to fight superstition, casteism, obscurantism and to bring order into panchayat by talking on equal terms to the high castes and the government official. The role of village level worker must be reviewed. There is too much that this humble functionary is supposed to do. The frequency of his contacts with his clientele are very few and spread over a very long period of time.

Caste continues to be a stumbling block in the regeneration. One of the hindrances to the development of the programmes is the prevalence of traditional inter group relations whose cultural clogging is responsible for the slowness of change. Therefore here is an urgent need for re-organizing these inter-group relations which no doubt will be modified by the advancement of education and through the lever of technical improvement at the material productive level.

Administrative and sociological measures in an illiterate community will not work effectively. The enhancement of education will dissolve these existing difficulties. And it is a very encouraging sign that of all the items of the programmes the hunger for education is increasing and in this lies India's

greatest hope Education will create conditions of mental acceptance of these programmes

In the mean while a large amount of responsibility falls upon the existing educated elite to set an example of service and integrity and high standards of civic responsibility and corporate sense

In the ultimate analysis the entire programme is a temporary device in order to provide the initial generative push in the form of new technique and ideas The criteria of their success is that in the end these must become self generative in the community But for making these ideas self generative certain institutional changes have to be made At present the methods employed in the programme are piecemeal and put into practice through individual foci They are confined to the personality method and diffusion of ideas through mass contact India has not yet found an effective institutional arrangement which will perpetuate the change which is desired to be made in these areas

Whatever the failings of this programme so long as India believes in the democratic reconstruction it will have to adhere to this mode of social action struggle with it perfect it and finally break through the barrier of stagnation The only point that may be remembered is that India must carry out this programme with a greater realism and less slothfulness

(ii)

cooperative farming

Cooperative movement in India started in 1904 In the 1904 Act it was restricted to credit societies Later

the movement began to enlarge and cover more & more spheres. During war II non credit co-operatives made great progress, particularly consumers cooperatives. The movement covered 15% of the population. After 1947 'it became the kingpin of development planning in the first year plan' and it has become the key stone of the structure of third five year plan.

The original aim of the cooperative movement in India was to develop credit facilities in rural areas. In 1956-57 only 1,615,510 primary agricultural credit societies advanced loans amounting to 57.33 crores which represent only 10% of the total credit needs of rural areas. This virtual failure of credit cooperatives shows that the merits of cooperatives lies in its efficiency to cover every aspect of the farmer's life in the community. It must take the form of multi-purpose societies which will solve the problem of production, marketing and credit. Now there are indications that the scope of the movement is being broadened. It is hoped that the service cooperatives which are proposed to be organized in future will tackle simultaneously the problems of credit, marketing and production.

In 1959, in a bid to do something fundamental in the sphere of agriculture, to which as compared to industry less attention has been given in the second plan, the Congress adopted a new pattern of land reforms based on village cooperatives. These cooperatives will promote the welfare of its members by introducing progressive farming methods, improved techniques of cultivation, providing credit, discharge other servicing functions, and arrange for pooling and marketing the agricultural produce etc.

Congress also declared that the future agrarian pattern should be that of cooperative joint farming, in which land will be pooled for joint cultivation the farmers retaining the property rights and getting a share of the net produce in proportion to their land. Further those who actually work on the land whether they own the land or not will get a share in proportion to the work put in by them on the joint farm.

The entire scheme was divided into two phases from the point of view of the execution. Prior to the institution of joint farming service cooperatives will be organized. This stage will be completed within three years and then joint cultivation may be started. In pursuance of this policy the centre informed the state governments that eight crores will be given to them to provide loans to 4 000 primary village cooperatives from July 1959 to March 1960. It was also decided to enrol 20 million members.

The proponents of this programme have repeatedly stated that this pattern of cooperative farming is different from collective farming where in addition to land all other resources of the members are pooled and the ownership of land disappears in so far as the income is divided according to work done. It is also emphasized that compulsion will not be used in transition from service cooperatives to joint farming.

However this decision of the ruling party has initiated a great debate in the country regarding the efficacy of this form which involves a radical institutional change.

There is no strong case for rejecting totally the idea of joint farming, service cooperatives and joint cultivation with

efficient This pattern is a logical culmination of the process of zamindari abolition It would facilitate the introduction of scientific farming methods and eradicate the handicaps of small-holdings Farmers will get access to larger resources for development and it will increase food production It will make mechanization and possible crop protection easier

The most fundamental merit of this cooperative pattern is that it will revive and strengthen communal spirit among the rural population which have hitherto been subjected to the atomistic values of urbanism The peasant will now learn to live and work in and through another kind of group life based on mutuality and freedom This new association will form the base of a participant communitarian order essential for the welfare of rural areas These cooperatives will take democracy to the grass roots of the life of the rural population

Moreover, modern agriculture cannot remain unaffected by the general tendency of commercialization and specialization prevailing in other sectors of economy Agriculture is no longer a way of life It has become an industry and therefore it must be managed according to sound business principles Cooperatives in agriculture mean introduction of business principles in agricultural activities The reorganization of agriculture according to scientific business principles will enable it to discharge the twin self-contradictory responsibilities in respect of ever increasing production on one hand and husbanding of available resources of land and community on the other

pre conditions of success

However, this movement cannot succeed without certain pre-requisites and pre-conditions Experiences in other coun-

tries suggest that cooperatives cannot function without social cohesion able management general economic stability and a suitable political environment Its success is also conditioned by the level of education quality of local leadership quantum of managerial skill and training If the movement is to take roots it must develop a rural conscience rural will and rural direction This is the quintessence of rural progress Governmental aid and political patronage must be progressively withdrawn or reduced to a minimum

In India there are besides these general considerations some particular problems such as created by its ancient pluralistic authoritarian social pattern There is the dire need for representative selfless authentic local leadership which in the initial stages of growth will prove essential and useful It is an arduous task in these areas to promote discipline cohesion and a sense of communal welfare in people who no doubt have been used to other forms of group disciplines and values have yet to learn to get used to the rigorous restraints and tolerance needed for working in cooperative associations In India it will be one of tasks of the initiators of cooperative movement to create maintain and support local leadership for this purpose For example it has been laid down that produce will be distributed in proportion to the holdings of the land of the members Disputes are bound to be arise in respect of distribution of net produce because land is not of equal fertility those owning more fertile lands will insist on having a larger share

Besides leadership there is the need of presenting the entire idea of cooperative movement to people in the light of a higher

re-enter Indian rural scene by the backdoor in the modern dress of cooperatives

Similarly casteism is a danger to the promotion of the new communitarian outlook of which the cooperative movement holds promise. There are indications that this is not improbable. Members of same high caste or sub-caste may join and form co-operatives to the exclusion of low-caste groups or within the co-operatives the consideration of caste affiliations may out-weigh economic and other legitimate considerations. The introduction of cooperatives may exacerbate the evils of caste which still exercises powerful influence in rural areas.

All these factors of leadership, ideology, feudalism and caste mindedness will take time. It would be unwise to promote this movement at a fast tempo. It must grow gradually and steadily. These social obstacles will have to be overcome. It must be realized that the presence of this kind of reactionary "infra structure" slackens the process of rural growth. Indian masses which are imprisoned in these ancient geological social formations will have to be emancipated from their tyranny and set free to reconstitute or reorganize themselves into new associations and groups such as cooperatives and panchayats and nation and world order. The process cannot be hastened, however pressing the need.

tence within a year. It is understandable that for a party or an organization responsible for the execution of a certain programme target dates help to maintain to a certain extent the even tempo of activity. However, in practice the consideration of target makes the agency sacrifice the essence of the programme. Activity is confused with achievement.

Cooperative movement is an essay in the promotion of a kind of human and social consciousness. The measure of its growth is not the arithmetic aggregate of the number of cooperatives established. It is a fallacious index of success. Obsession with quantitative development of cooperatives will destroy the value of cooperative as a grand movement directed towards a revolutionary social purpose. It may introduce element of coercion into the movement. Planning ill goes with such movement whose domain is the spirit of man. You can hasten the production of goods, but normally you neither can hasten the process of acceptance of new ideas, new habits and new social behaviours and nor can the reject of old ideas, traditions and dogmas. And if this is attempted, cooperative movement will cease to operate on a voluntary basis.

criticism

Some critics of this movement while accepting in principle the value of cooperatives believe that in the process of actual working the basic principles of cooperation will be compromised. For example, the question of proprietary rights of the farmers on their land. It is true, says the critic, that the property rights are retained. But what will they mean in reality, when "boundaries of that farm have been up-rooted, when tractors and machines are running over that land which

once was six or eight or ten farms " In the end people in co-operatives will insist on distributing net produce according to work and not in proportion to the land held. This provision will encourage the growth of functionless or lazy farmers, who own large areas in the cooperative As this is bad, the members of the cooperatives will insist, and of course rightly, on distribution being made on the basis of work and not the side of land. This will disturb the present man-land, nexus and in effect proprietary right will remain defunct.

There is one more objection. It is asserted by the critics that cooperative farming will not increase production. The experience of other countries are quoted to prove this. In U S A big farms produce 12.2 quintals of wheat per hectare and in USSR 9.3. In UK the small farm produce 28.5 quintals per hectare and in Denmark 34.3 and in Japan 26.6 There is a great lag between the agricultural production in USSR where large farms exist and the rest of the world. Comparisons are misleading. However it is clear that the cooperative farms must be of a medium size.

In India it has been found that in big cooperatives the money-lenders and landlords dominate over the peasant with smaller resources Therefore cooperative farming without fixation of ceiling on land and similar other measures for equal distribution of land will not serve much useful purpose.

conclusion.

India has set into motion two mighty programmes The anticipations aroused by community development has not yet been materialized In fact scepticism about these programmes is growing. It is tragic indeed, The government is

partly responsible for this. It made it into a gigantic slogan and people took it seriously and literally. It is not in the nature of these programmes to succeed so easily. The government should have educated the people and also itself and started the movement with sober enthusiasm and realism. Today the primary effort of those who believe in this movement should be to fight the prevailing defeatism. It should abandon its flare for effects and people learn to take and see the constructive view of this movement which is the only panacea of India's rural difficulties.

Similarly, for cooperatives, it is interesting to note that this harmless movement which has been going in India for the last four decades should start such controversy as we see is being raised in India. The critics endorse cooperation in principle. But when it becomes a party issue they lose their poise and objectivity. It is true that there are shortcomings but since basically the idea of cooperation suits India a more positive attitude should be taken and constructive suggestions made to improve the lacunae. The community development and cooperative movement must be removed from the plane of political controversies and their planning, execution, and management must be left in the hands of an independent autonomous body completely immunized against any political bias.

POPULATION PROBLEM—A SCARECROW

**hunger and love constitute the germ of all
human history** —*Buddha*

(i)

neo-malthusian scarecrow

Insecurity is a condition of human existence. Civilization is a search for security ; it is man's attempt to mitigate this inevitable and immutable context or reference. But there are times when civilization instead of ameliorating the situation worsens it.

We are passing through such dreadful times when having helped himself to overcome, to some extent, several varieties of insecurities, man faces another baffling and intriguing form of insecurity—namely, having to live in the constant dread of his own creations. Man's mind found the secret of the atom and human races lives on the edge of terrific suspense as to what will follow. Man's inventiveness found machines and human beings are threatened by robotism and a fear of being atrophied by mechanistic values. Man's talent founded for himself a state and the individual lives in the constant anxiety of being absorbed in it and thus lose himself. Under the divine injunction—go forth and multiply thy race—he embarked on the joyful task of perpetuating himself as a

specie. But today man is afraid of his own progenies. Children are considered as "unwanted guests", and kill-joys who would spoil the enjoyments, holidays, and cocktails of their elders.

The statistics obsessed demographers are raising alarms and issuing warnings to guillible masses against the growth of population. The half-educated ultra-modern elite are mortally scared of even their first-born children. The sophisticated spinsters have taken up the crusade against child-birth. The frightened conservationists sponser this 'new cause'. There is no dearth of nervous prophets of gloom who advocate a check on human reproduction before it is too late. Even sober thinkers like Toyanbee and Huxley have leant their voices to this cacophonous uproar of fear and anxiety expressed by these Malthusian neo-converts in mid-twentieth century.

They say that mankind was starving and condemned to universal famine because of uncontrolled birth-rate. They parade "figures" and flaunt "facts" to show that after the nuclear explosion, the next danger which human race will face will be the explosive out-brust of population. They see in the entire historical evolution an inexorable trend to this point of disaster. They assert, "the growth of earth's population has been like a long thin tapering powder of fuse that burns slowly and haltingly and then catches on until it finally reaches the charge and explodes." (Kingsley Davis) They also say that as any scientific examination of worlds "population problem today has to be primarily quantitative" (Chandrasekhar) the entire issue revolves round births, deaths and migrations. From the point

of view of neo-malthusians "the gravest problem of our time is presented by uncontrolled human fertility"

It is stated that population was increasing at the rate of 68,000 people per day. And if this rate of growth persists (and they see no reason why it should not be because from 1920 to 1957 the rate of increase of population has been 1.6% per annum) There will be 4.2 billion people on the earth in about 2,000 A.D. They believe that the resources of this planet are not adequate to cope with this growth of population and production can not keep pace with this galloping increase of population. To provide enough food for all mankind, after considering an anticipated increase in the next twenty-five years, an increase of 110% would be needed (Milton Eisenhower). This kind of population on the loose can exist only by plundering our planet. A day is bound to come when eventually production will irremediably fall short of the necessities of the growing numbers and then mankind will be a prey to famines and starvation.

Their prescription for survival consists of a programme of drastic reduction of fertility by birth-control and conservation of natural resources on a global scale. Their outlook has been so seriously vitiated by alarm and fear that persons like Vogt do not feel the slightest possible abhorrence or qualms when they go so far as to suggest that medical and sanitary resources should be denied to a more miserable population and they should be left to die.

(11)

more production

This neo-Malthusian statement of the demographic problem is out of date because it does not take cognisance of the facts that science is almost on the verge of solving the problems of production and ushering mankind literally into an age of abundance

Malthus thought and wrote under conditions of diminishing returns. In those circumstances he stated his well-known hypothesis that population increases in geometrical progression and the food production in arithmetical progression. But, as Colin Clark put it, to-day the law of diminishing returns is no longer operative in the way it did in the times of Malthus. A majority of industries now-a-days enjoy the law of increasing returns. 'A majority of industries such as large-scale manufacturers, transport, postal communications, are benefited by increasing population. Due to the size of population the market expands and due to enlarged markets and economical organization productivity per head increases.' Even in agriculture in which the law of diminishing returns is supposed to operate, there are instances such as sugar-cane crushing mills and haulage in which the returns are increasing on account of mechanisation. Even otherwise also the law of diminishing returns which had validity in eighteenth century of Malthus, has limited validity in areas where it holds good even now. Science has made a great headway in successfully transforming the inevitable conditions of scarcity in which human being were considered to be born and destined to live in

The neo Malthusian assertion that there is an alarmingly explosive growth of population in the world is also contestable. There are two phases of the growth of population in the world. First from the beginning of the life on earth half a million years ago upto sixteenth century. During this period the rate of growth of population was low upto the beginning of Christian era it was 0.04%. And from the beginning of Christian era to the close of seventeenth century the rate of increase was 0.4%. Secondly since eighteenth century onwards the population of the world has been increasing at a more rapid rate although rates of growth declined in some parts and remained static in others.

Whatever the reasons for this demographic revolution what is noteworthy in this situation at this point is the fact that it is doubtful whether there has been in historical fact an actual instance of the supposed Malthusian universal overtaking agricultural productivity. On the contrary in modern communities improvement in techniques lead to a rise in agricultural productivity without any additional labour force or cultivation of additional land at a rate faster than any possible rate of increase of population (Colin Clark). In fact scientific techniques made it possible to augment production to a considerable extent. The crop yield of Britain during war shows what necessity can inspire. Before war Britain produced one thirds of its food needs and imported two thirds. Under the pressure of the war time blockade production in Britain shot up to such an extent that Britain could take care of 45% of its national needs. The area under cultivation increased by 60% and strangely enough the nutritional standards of British people improved.

There is one more example. In Denmark, and the Netherlands, where density of settlement per kilometer of cultivatable land is very high the productivity per person engaged on per kilometer is also astonishingly high as compared to other less sparsely populated areas. In Denmark the density of settlement per kilometer of cultivatable land is 10-15 persons; there the production per person is of the value of 5,000 rupees. India's density of settlement is 25-30 and production is between Rs 1000-1500. In Denmark, by intensive use of land and scientific methods of agriculture, one man supplies food for twenty or one square mile provides for 500 people. By using the developed techniques of agriculture prevalent in Denmark it should not be difficult for the world to provide food to its increasing population. The total cultivatable area of the world is 24 million square miles, using the criteria of Denmark it can support 12 billions as opposed to 2.7 billion it is now supporting. At present most of the world is populated far below the potential density.

Not only by intensive but by extensive cultivation of land production can be increased manifold. At present there is considerable scope for extending the area of cultivation. There are tracts of land which lie waiting to be used in the tropics and arctic. According to Robert Salter tropical red soil and sub-polar podzols cover 28% of the earth's surface; but only 1% of this is under use. If we use African and South American land resources about 900 millions of acres will be added to the world's cultivated area. Another hundred million can be added in Oceania. And assuming that only 1% of the Canadian and Russian podzol can be farmed another 300 million acres would be added to the total. At

Finally there is the possibility of mass scale production of synthetic foods. With the assurance of the new food teams, chlorells and yeast, food technologists hope to revolutionize world nutrition and to put an end to protein and fat deficiency. A single food factory can produce enough proteins to feed 3 million people and fat for 15 million people—an equivalent of about 150 thousand acres. A factory in Jamaica turns out 5 tons of protein a day. For the first time in history it is now possible to synthesize from non biological and even from inorganic materials a food of caloric value although the cost at present is high.

Thus the neo-Malthusians do not take into consideration these vast possibilities of the growth of production in the world. Their thinking is dominated by numerical aspect of population. Production of foodstuff can be increased to the point of fully satisfying the needs of all the human races — thus they do not consider. As J. De Castro puts it, there are effective weapons other than a drastic reduction of the world's population. We no longer accept any form of rigid natural determinism. To concede (as neo-Malthusians do) that the earth sets a fixed impassable limit to human population is to revert to the old geographical determinism of Ratzel, nothing can be farther from truth. Man with his creative power and inventive technique is well able to evade the coercion of nature, to free himself of the conception of geographical determinism and to transform natural limitations into social opportunities.

present the area cultivated has not touched two billion acres, a mere eighth of earth's natural surface. Cultivation of sixteen billion could support four times the present population on a rational diet.

Soil productivity can be increased by more rational and scientific methods besides artificial fertilizers which are not the only means of increasing the fertility of land. Crop rotation, scientific measures for the care of the soil, use of lime, livestock raising, use of natural manures, and science of soil preservation can help.

There is one more untapped source of food supply to which little attention has been given so far. Out of the world's 350,000 vegetable species only 600 have been cultivated. As compared to civilized people the primitive are better. In Africa some tribes include in their diet 114 species of fruit and 47 greens and 46 leguminous seeds. The domestication of certain new plants will yield unimaginable reserves of food supply to the world. "There has been no modern achievements in this sphere; in fact, nearly all the plants cultivated today were domesticated in prehistoric times. Our failure to explore such possibilities is one instance of man's withdrawal from nature." Bio-chemists and nutritionists have started exploiting wild-plants which, it has been found, are rich in food contents. In the native flora so far untapped there are vast reserves of food. For example, a plant called *Bromelia liciniosa* there is an abundance of calcium, and in *buriti* they have found new source of vitamin A. Not only the land but the bed of oceans and seas contain plants which can supply several components of food to human beings.

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(iii)

starvation creates over-population

The assumption of the neo-Mathusians is that over-population causes starvation. However, conversely over starvation is the cause of over-population. Hunger increases fertility. The answer to over-population lies in eradicating hunger.

It has been found that birth rate is the highest among the ill-fed people. It is the lowest among the well fed people. De Castro points out that a high protein intake leads to a high percentage of sterility. The birth-rate falls as the consumption of protein-rich food, e.g., meat, eggs, and milk increases. As these are expensive things, their consumption rises with the rise of income which is the result of economic growth. "Geographically, the countries with high birth rate are all tropical countries whose economic and geographic conditions are ill-adapted to the production and consumption of proteins of animal origin. The predominantly vegetarian diet of these

with each other Chronic hunger for proteins and certain vitamins produce chronic lack of appetite and loss of interest in food Then the sexual instinct becomes dominant It has been seen in the process of cattle raising that the animals which become too fat became sterile when these animals were put on rationed diet they recover their fertility Similarly the experiments conducted by Slonker also on rats also prove this relation between food and sterility

(iv)

hidden hungers

In a sense the neo malthus in view of population, in spite of its obvious flare for figures and quantities is an under statement of the magnitude of the problem of hunger in the world. It does not take a 'totalitarian' view of hunger—*epidemic* and *endemic* hunger The latter means lack of certain indispensable nutritive elements and which condemns whole population groups to die of hunger although they eat every day. To day man suffers from several dietary lacks—*e.g.* lack of proteins which worsens physical appearance and reduces resistance to disease, lack of mineral elements which has degenerative effects such as anaemia, goitre deaf-mutism, lack of vitamins leading to blindness beriberi pellagra scurvy All these hungers leave their mark on the body and souls They make human beings deformed and human souls decrepit with anger or aggressiveness or listlessness irritability, depravity, apathy and melancholy

This situation is a world wide phenomena In some areas it is manifest and elsewhere it operates insidiously, nonetheless

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Geographically the countries with high birth rate are all tropical countries whose economic and geographic conditions are ill adapted to the production and consumption of proteins of animal origin. The predominantly vegetarian diet of these countries is one of the decisive factors in their fertility. The birth rate in Sweden is 15 and their daily consumption of animal protein is 62.6 grams. The birth rate in India is 33 and the daily consumption of animal protein is 8.7 grams. In Formosa the birth rate is 45.6 and the daily consumption of animal protein is 4.7 grams.

Apart from the point of view of nutrition the psychological effects of hunger make sex important. Under normal conditions the instinct towards reproduction and nutrition compete

with each other. Chronic hunger for proteins and certain vitamins produce chronic lack of appetite and loss of interest in food. Then the sexual instinct becomes dominant. It has been seen in the process of cattle-raising that the animals which become too fat became sterile when these animals were put on rationed diet they recover their fertility. Similarly, the experiments conducted by Slonker also on rats also prove this relation between food and sterility.

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This situation is a world-wide phenomena. In some areas it is manifest and elsewhere it operates insidiously, nonetheless

it is pervasive. Great malnutrition prevails even in the so-called rich areas of America. "The western hemisphere is one of the greatest areas of malnutrition." (De Castro) This cannot be explained in terms of excess of population but only terms of low production. There the demographic density is the lowest in the world. Asia is proverbially the land of hunger and nowhere has hunger left such deep scars as in Asia. No part of Africa has remained unaffected by hunger. In spite of its low population density. Even Europe in the post-war period faced serious food problems.

The reasons for this world-wide reign of malnutrition and hunger are mostly economic and social and grave inequality of distribution of available production. And serious maldistribution of technical knowledge and technical skills.

Consequently, the remedy does not lie in the reduction of fertility by birth control. Economic development is the only answer to the menace of growing numbers. Mankind must exploit its technical knowledge and learn to make a more proper use of natural resources and by raising the buying power and consumption levels of people who live on the margin. Economic growth increases production and creates conditions in which fertility also falls. Therefore it is a double blessing.

(v)

economic growth and population

Economic growth involves transition from an agrarian peasant economy to an economy in which there is infinite division of labour, use of complex equipment improved means

of transportation and communication; introduction of money economy and general commercialization of relations which tend to become utilitarian and rational and impersonal. There is a gradual rise in the standard of living of people. There is increasing urbanization, break-up of family and more mobility.

Now economic growth effects population. Take for instance improved preventive public health measures in the sphere of environmental sanitation in public health. These programmes which involve provision of cheap supply of pure drinking water, better drainage system, inexpensive latrines, reduce death-rate considerably. Similarly development of antibiotic and insecticides further reduce the incidence of diseases. Malaria and tuberculosis and leprosy, yaws, syphilis are removed by inexpensive treatments.

Moreover effective curative measures are capable of further reducing the rate of mortality and increasing longevity and the attendant problems of age-ing groups. In Taiwan the crude death-rate declined from 33.4 per thousand in 1906 1910 to 18.5 for the years 1941 43. In Europe population increased six fold between 1750-1850 on account of low death rate and birth rate following economic growth consequent to industrial and agricultural revolutions.

Due to economic growth food supplies become more regular, and there are better conditions of law and order. All this together with public health measures and improved nutrition and increased education reduces death rates and birth—the birth rates relatively stable and death rates fluctuating. Birth rate follows the decline in death rate. These two

rates pursue a more or less parallel downward course with the decline of birth rate lagging behind. Secondly economic development itself in the long run decreases fertility and thus works as a check against growth of population.

Therefore the solution to the problem of increasing population is not merely reduction of birth rate by contraceptives but by raising the standard of living of the people. In other words economic development which means more education, more intake of expensive proteinous foods and more diversionary activities and higher appreciation of the values of life would automatically act as check on the growth of population. The neo malthusians refuse to accept this saner and promising method of dealing with this world wide problem.

The panacea of birth control itself cannot work in economically and social backward areas. Contraceptives in such less developed areas where due to lack of education, custom, unscientific religion, social taboos and dogmatism and obscurantism are bound to prevail will not be easily accepted. The very programme of extensive use of contraceptives need the pre conditions of economic and social growth.

This is therefore a more effective human rational and scientific approach to the problem of population. But the task of economic development is tremendous by itself. Hunger is a global phenomena and therefore it needs global effort and cooperation. It would require a global united effort of all the nations of the world. Large masses of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America cannot undertake this job single handed. A cooperative world economy based on mutual interest will be able to solve this problem. It cannot be solved by alarms and slogans.

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